

# Zero Option Stands Until German Vote, Reagan Aides Say

By Michael Geder  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan will remain firm on his original proposal for banning all medium-range missiles from Europe, at least until the March 6 West German elections, White House officials say.

Also, Secretary of State George P. Shultz told the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Wednesday that President Reagan did not intend to give up the "zero option" proposal, which he called a "superior" stance "morally, strategically, in terms of threats to peace."

European leaders generally favor a compromise as a first step toward Mr. Reagan's objective, and Vice President George Bush, who recently returned from Western Europe, said Sunday that Mr. Reagan was considering whether to make a new move in the deadlocked arms talks at Geneva.

But it seemed clear Tuesday from public and private statements by White House officials that the president had decided not to do anything, at least until after the crucial West German vote, and may not offer a compromise even then.

Mr. Reagan's reported decision is not necessarily a repudiation of the allied views or of the recommendations Mr. Bush made when he returned last week from a 12-day trip through seven countries.

Officials close to Mr. Bush said Tuesday that he had not urged the president to make a proposal now. But White House officials have been "in the mood" to rule out the possibility that Mr. Reagan may make a new proposal later in the year.

The allied leaders have said publicly that the zero option is the best possible solution to the nuclear arms problem in Central Europe. Under that plan, the Soviet Union would dismantle all 600 of the medium-range missiles already based there and targeted mostly on Western Europe. The United States, in turn, would forgo deployment of 108 Pershing-2 and 464 cruise missiles that are scheduled to begin arriving in West Germany, Britain and Italy in December.

But the Soviet Union has rejected that plan, and the allied leaders have also said publicly that it might be possible to reach intermediate agreements with the Soviet Union that could at least reduce forces in a balanced fashion. In an interview last week, Mr. Bush confirmed that allied leaders also had made this point to him in private.

But authoritative U.S. and allied officials have said that Mr. Bush did not press Mr. Bush very hard either in demanding a new U.S. move or on the timing of any such move. Officials say that the views expressed to Mr. Bush, while important, varied from country to country and were therefore not decisive.

Most important, the conservative chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Kohl, is understood not to have asked for anything specific from Washington, such as a new proposal, before his election test against Hans-Jochen Vogel, a Social Democrat.

The White House says it does not intend to interfere in the politics of West Germany. The election there is crucial because Mr. Kohl supports Mr. Reagan on deploying new missiles unless an arms agreement is reached first, while Mr. Vogel has said he may review that decision.

The feeling in the White House and most allied countries is that if Mr. Kohl is returned to office, the Soviet Union will believe that the allies are determined to deploy the new missiles and thus will negotiate more seriously at Geneva.

## Reagan May Restate Arms Stance

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan planned to explain Wednesday night why he has stood firm on the U.S. negotiating position at European nuclear missile talks in Geneva, with the Soviet Union, White House officials said.

They said other topics at a presidential news conference would include prospects for Middle East peace diplomacy following Ariel Sharon's departure from the Israeli Defense Ministry.

# Reagan Plans Switch To a 'Stealth' Missile

By George C. Wilson  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Ronald Reagan has decided to cancel further production of one of the major new weapons in the Air Force arsenal, the air-launched cruise missile, in favor of an improved version.

The decision does not affect the administration's plan to base other versions of the weapon on the ground in Europe late this year, as part of the NATO deployment that includes Pershing-2 missiles.

The Air Force says it fears that Soviet air defenses are improving and may soon be able to shoot down the current cruise missiles. Therefore, Mr. Reagan intends to gamble on the so-called "stealth" technology and incorporate those advances into the strategic air-launched cruise missiles.

The stealth technology involves a combination of techniques to evade enemy radar, including shaping planes or missiles so that radar beams are not reflected in a way that they can be read by tracking stations.

The Air Force is already at work on a stealth bomber.

Mr. Reagan, unless reversed by Congress, will stop the air-launched cruise program about a third of the way to completion, with the purchase of 1,499 of the 3,438 missiles the Air Force had intended to buy. The president's decision will cut the program's projected cost from \$8.4 billion to \$4.3 billion, the air force said Tuesday. But the difference, and additional funds, will be spent on the new

- ### INSIDE
- The Federal Reserve has decided not to push short-term interest rates down any more as long as the economy continues to recover. Page 9.
  - The U.S. Justice Department will investigate the troubled EPA. Page 3.
  - Bone marrow transplants will be more readily available once a new technique comes into use. Science, Page 7.
  - U.S. housing starts and industrial output showed strong increases in January. Page 9.



ELECTION VIOLENCE — The homes of these women in Gauhati, in India's northeastern state of Assam, were burned down in election violence. The death toll rose to 277 Wednesday with the accidental shooting of three policemen. Page 2.

# Glad-Handing Among Palestinians Disguises Problems in Movement

By Jonathan C. Randal  
Washington Post Service

ALGIERS — The gathering of about 350 delegates to the Palestine National Council and more than a thousand observers and guests can be compared to a family reunion, albeit a flawed one. And, like other such reunions, it is less even the smallest patch of land where a Palestinian flag could be flown, and the knowledge that even this seemed beyond its grasp, that revolutionary rhetoric comes easier than revolutionary accomplishment.

But there is also a new impression of loneliness, of amateurish improvisation and, occasionally, self-defeating sloppiness.

For example, the official conference booklet has a bad French translation, and an atrocious English version, of its Arabic text.

An English sentence describes the council members as representatives of "various heavily armed desperado groups," a definition not so far from the Israelis' description of the PLO as "terrorists."

The Soviet, Tunisian, Indian, Syrian, Moroccan and other foreign guests who addressed the council Tuesday used the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist vocabulary coined more than a generation ago at the first nonaligned summit conference at Bandung, Indonesia.

"The same rhetoric, the same hyperbole," said M.T. Mehdi, an Arab-American journalist, comparing this council meeting to two others he had attended over the years. "Perhaps they have moved a little bit to a more rational attitude, but not a single new idea will come out of this that will affect President Reagan's decisions on the Middle East. It will have no impact in the real world."

Yet for some delegates the real game is not so much winning this or that point about contacts with the Israeli left, or even what man-



29 Are Killed in Australian Bushfires  
The Moumit Lofty obelisk, a landmark in the hills above Adelaide, Australia, remains standing after a bushfire. At least 29 persons were killed and 450 injured as bushfires burned Wednesday across the southern states of Victoria and South Australia. Three bodies were found in burned-out cars in the Adelaide hills.

# West Germans Step Up Aid for Detroit's Needy, to Annoyance of U.S.

By Harry Trimborn  
Los Angeles Times Service

BONN — Shortly before Christmas, Imgrid Döbel, an employee of the municipal theater in Ludwigshafen, saw a television documentary on poverty in the United States that recalled memories of her childhood.

The program prompted Miss Döbel, 48, and another theater employee, Joachim Zedler, 40, to start a grass-roots relief campaign for destitute families in Detroit, one of the most economically depressed areas of the United States.

Their effort became part of a wider West German program of aid for needy Americans. West German auto workers have collected thousands of dollars to send to out-of-work fellow auto workers in Detroit. Town councils and church and civic groups that have been sending packages to Poland have now added Detroit to their aid list. Peace activists have collected 10,000 packages of vitamins to be sent to Detroit.

The relief effort has embarrassed and annoyed the U.S. government.

"I am part Jewish, on my mother's side," she said in a telephone interview. She said she was only 10 in early 1945, "but you can imagine how happy I was when the U.S. soldiers came to the town where my mother, brother and I had been hidden from the Nazis."

Without the American victory I probably would have died in a concentration camp, as so many of my relatives did," she said.

She said the television documentary about poor Americans, which was produced by a West German network, showed hungry children of about the age she was when her town was liberated by the Americans.

"I know what it is to be hungry like that," she said, "and I remember that the Americans gave us food to survive."

She and Mr. Zedler said that their determination to help destitute Detroit residents was reinforced by a declaration by the city's mayor, Coleman Young, of a "hunger emergency."

With the help of friends, she and Mr. Zedler began collecting foodstuffs and other material. They got the names and addresses of needy Detroit families from the Michigan Department of Social Services through contacts supplied by U.S. military and civilian personnel in West Germany.

They called their campaign the "CARE Package Thank You Program." The first shipment was sent by surface mail on Jan. 21 and is expected to arrive in Detroit at the end of February or early March. It consists of 11 packages for nine families with a total of 52 children.

Mr. Zedler said the next shipment will go to 180 Detroit families and will be airlifted free by Pan American World Airways.

The town council of Dietzenbach, near Frankfurt, recently voted to donate more than \$10,000 to help the unemployed in Detroit. In addition, the council sent about \$2,700 to a "Help for Detroit" fund in Hannover that was started by a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Eckhard Minthe.

Workers in Rüsselsheim at the Opel car factory, a subsidiary of General Motors, donated about \$17,000 to help unemployed auto workers in Detroit. Other donors sent \$27,000 to a special bank account set up to aid the Detroit union members, according to an Opel workers' representative.

# Israeli Troops Challenge New Lebanese Positions

## Begin Wins Knesset Vote On Inquiry

By David K. Shipler  
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — The government of Prime Minister Menachem Begin demonstrated its cohesiveness and stability Wednesday by easily winning a vote of confidence in parliament, the first since the state commission's report on Israel's "indirect responsibility" for the Beirut massacre.

Three opposition motions of no confidence, taken together in a single vote, were defeated 46-56, with no defections or abstentions from the government.

The display of unity indicated that Mr. Begin's six-party coalition had passed the last turbulent week intact and that the prospect of early elections had virtually disappeared.

It also demonstrated that aside from some tactical shifts in the negotiations with Lebanon, no significant change in Israeli policies could be expected, especially with regard to Mr. Begin's determination to hold onto the occupied West Bank.

The opposition Labor, Shinui and Communist parties, which introduced the motions, argued that the entire government, having been criticized by the inquiry commission, should resign.

Former Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of the Labor Party denounced "the malfunctioning, the lack of capability to evaluate, to foresee conclusions from government decisions based on information and circumstances, and on warnings."

"Can we be sure that what happened here and what was investigated, and of which we are therefore aware, did not occur at other stages of our involvement?" he said.

Justice Minister Moshe Nissim replied that no such indictment could be found in the commission's report. He said that the cabinet's decision last week to accept the commission's recommendations that Ariel Sharon resign as defense minister and three senior generals leave their posts was "a sign of the government's moral strength."

He added that a team of experts would study problem areas underscored by the investigation.

The commission found that Israeli leaders, including Prime Minister Begin, Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Mr. Sharon and senior generals, had erred in failing to anticipate a massacre when the army sent Lebanese Christian Phalangists into Palestinian refugee camps in September.

After the commission's findings and the cabinet shuffle that they provoked, a question has been raised about how much influence Mr. Sharon will have in formulating governmental policy, since he remains in the cabinet as a minister without portfolio.

The steering committee for the negotiations with Lebanon met this morning without him, indicating that he will no longer be directly involved in developing Israel's position in the talks.

One of Mr. Sharon's major demands, which is still on the table, was for a series of Israeli-manned "warning stations" to remain in southern Lebanon after the departure of the main force.

Israel originally spoke of three such stations, but officials are now telling Western diplomats that they want five.

About 150 Israeli soldiers and intelligence agents would be based at each one.

According to a diplomat who was briefed, the Israelis would not just sit in the stations, passively monitoring developments. They would have the right to "kick open doors and look under beds" for Palestinian guerrillas.



Menachem Begin

## Action Seen In Beirut As a Test

BEIRUT — One day after taking over security duties in East Beirut, Lebanese Army troops on Wednesday prevented Israeli soldiers for 20 minutes from passing a checkpoint.

An Israeli Army spokesman said the patrol, commanded by an Israeli colonel, broke through the Lebanese barricade near the town of Monteforte about three miles (five kilometers) east of Beirut, and continued on its way.

The spokesman, quoted by Israel radio and monitored here, said the incident took place in an area under Israeli control. He emphasized that the Israelis had no intention of discontinuing their patrols in the area, which he said were part of routine security operations.

A Lebanese Army source said only that the Israelis were held up for 20 minutes, and then continued on their way. No gunfire was reported.

On Tuesday, about 4,000 Lebanese troops took control of East Beirut, which had for eight years been ruled by the Phalangist Christian militia.

Officials here believe the Israeli action was intended to test the Lebanese Army after its new deployment.

Foreign Minister Elie Salem disclosed at a press conference here Wednesday that the Israeli military command asked the Lebanese government on Monday to coordinate the movement of its troops in East Beirut with the Israelis. The request was turned down, Mr. Salem said.

Mr. Salem said that the Israelis would have free use of a supply route that passes through the city, but that "no military presence" would be permitted elsewhere in the capital except for Lebanese troops and the multinational peacekeeping force.

He said "the army has instructions to shoot, has instructions to act like an army and not negotiate with outlaws. Every force that will encounter the army in the greater Beirut area, whether it is formal or informal, is in the context of the Lebanese law, an outlaw."

The leading Lebanese newspaper, An-Nahar, reported that Israel had warned the government in Lebanon three times about the deployment of the army in areas close to Israeli-held territory. It said the army did not take up positions on the Beirut-Damascus highway as earlier planned because of Israeli military traffic there.

On Wednesday, French and Italian members of the peacekeeping force took up positions Wednesday alongside the Lebanese Army in two East Beirut neighborhoods, and press reports here said that U.S. marines would join the Lebanese there on Monday.

Government sources said that support from the multinational force would help the Lebanese Army stand up to the Israelis.

Wednesday's confrontation took place near a spot where Israeli troops killed three men in a car Tuesday. An Israeli spokesman said the men were "terrorists" and that they had fired on the Israeli soldiers.

But accounts published in the Beirut press Wednesday said that Israeli forces had fired on the car after hearing an explosion.

In a separate incident, one man was killed and several others were injured, when a bomb in a car exploded Wednesday in the Christian town of Antillas on the Mediterranean coast north of here.

# West German Court Clears Way for Vote

New York Times Service

BONN — West Germany's Constitutional Court, removing a potential obstacle to the holding of general elections on March 6, ruled Wednesday that the dissolution of parliament last month did not violate the constitution.

The decision was widely expected after President Karl Carstens, an expert on constitutional law, dissolved parliament Jan. 7 and called for early elections, bowing to the wishes of West German political parties.

The court, in a 6-2 vote, rejected petitions by four legislators who challenged the constitutionality of a move by Chancellor Helmut Kohl that paved the way for the elections. In that move, Mr. Kohl intentionally lost a confidence vote in parliament on Dec. 17.

Wolfgang Zedler, the presiding judge, said the "extraordinary situation" following the collapse of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's government in September justified doubt about Mr. Kohl's "stable political support." But the court cautioned against use of the confidence-motion tactic "in the normal case."

To prevent the string of short-lived governments that plagued Germany's Weimar Republic during the 1920s, the constitution in 1949 provided that a government could be removed only by a vote of no confidence.

Franz Josef Strauss opens his party's campaign. Page 2.

cludes numerous safeguards to assure governmental stability. West German leaders, unlike the heads of most European governments, do not have the discretion to call elections when they choose.

Mr. Kohl has said that, if kept in office, he hopes to change the constitution to permit greater flexibility.

## NATO Guards Set Strike

The Associated Press

STUTTGART — Civilian guards at NATO bases in West Germany have voted to strike for better pay, conditions and training, the Public Services and Transport Union said Wednesday. A weekend deadline was set for a new offer.

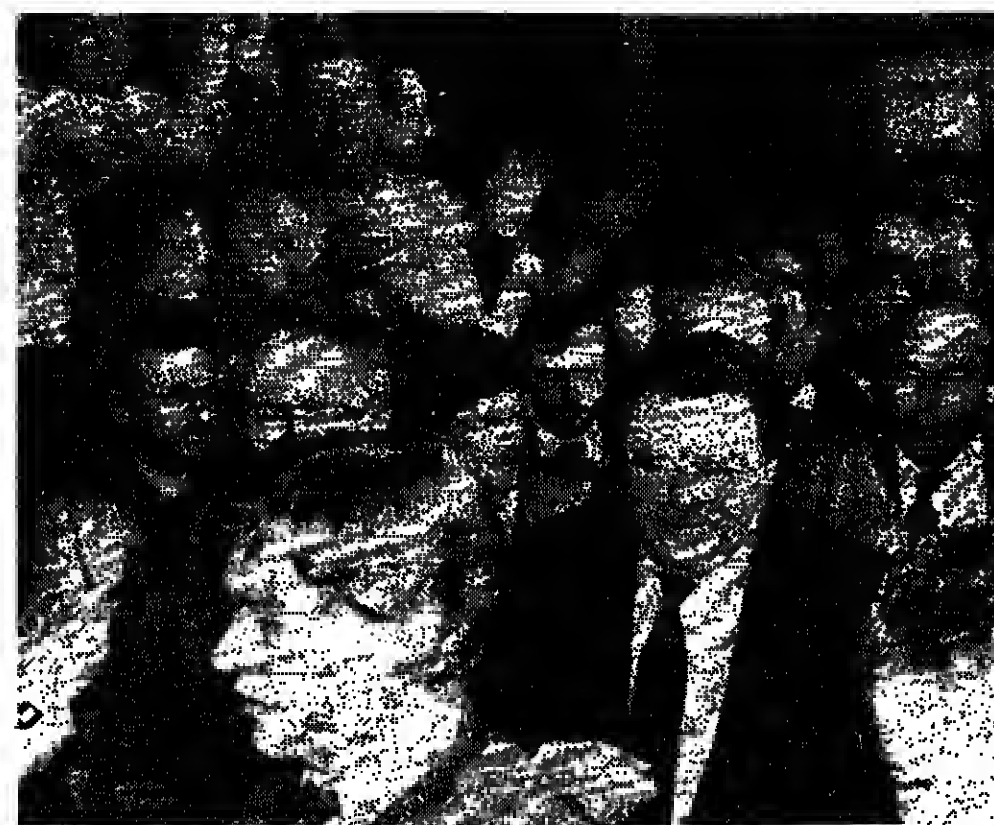
In a separate incident, one man was killed and several others were injured, when a bomb in a car exploded Wednesday in the Christian town of Antillas on the Mediterranean coast north of here.

The U.S. Information Service has published a long article that says, in effect, that the United States does not need any foreign aid to cope with its economic problems. It also published a description of what it called a massive effort by industry, agriculture, governmental agencies and labor unions to relieve economic distress in Detroit.

It also published an interview with an unemployed Detroit auto worker, identified only as "Curly," who it said had been shown on German television standing in a Detroit soup line.

"Curly" was quoted as saying of the West Germans who send food parcels: "They are good people if they want to do that. If there is some way you can tell them thanks. But we sort of look out for each other in this city. We take care of each other, and that is what we are going to do now. But tell them thanks, anyway."





Franz Josef Strauss, center right, the leader of West Germany's Christian Social Union, moved through a crowd of supporters Wednesday before a speech in Passau, Bavaria.

## Strauss Opens Party's Campaign

**Bavarian Warns Against 'Neutralized' West Europe**

By James M. Markham

New York Times Service

PASSAU, West Germany — Franz Josef Strauss opened the electoral campaign Wednesday of his Bavarian conservatives, warning that victory next month by the opposition Social Democrats could lead to "the de facto neutralization" of Western Europe.

In a three-hour speech to about 8,000 supporters here, Mr. Strauss predicted that a post-election alliance between the Social Democrats and the radical Greens would bring "chaos" and "street democracy" to West Germany.

Mr. Strauss asked "all Social Democrats who really love their party" to vote for the Christian Democrats and their Bavarian sis-

ter party, his Christian Social Union. "This is the only way to consolidate the Federal Republic, to bring order to Bavaria, to bring order to Germany and the only way to save our endangered parliamentary system," he said.

Mr. Strauss, the premier of Bavaria, is a candidate for a Bundestag seat in the March 6 election and reportedly would like to become foreign minister in the next Bonn cabinet.

But his return to Bonn, where he once served as defense and finance minister, hinges on the ability of the Christian Social Union to win an absolute majority of seats at the expense of their current coalition partners, the Free Democrats.

So in his speech Wednesday, Mr. Strauss assailed both the Social Democrats and the Free Democrats, who until last autumn had governed West Germany together for 13 years. He aimed his barbs at what he portrayed as a legacy of extensive unemployment, government indebtedness and corporate bankruptcies.

Calling the Social Democrats' election arguments "the biggest lies since the end of the Third Reich," Mr. Strauss said their "policies can only be described as 'first ruin everything and then criticize it.'"

In this conservative, predominantly Roman Catholic area, Mr. Strauss is a cross between a politician and a folk idol, and his attacks on the Social Democratic candidate for chancellor, Hans-Jochen Vogel, are treasured here.

Mr. Strauss's concentration Wednesday on domestic economic questions suggested that he believes they will be decisive in the bitterly contested election.

## 3 Policemen Are Slain By Error in India Riot

United Press International

NEW DELHI — Police accidentally shot and killed three fellow policemen Wednesday during anti-election riots in India's Assam state, raising the number of deaths to 277 in more than two weeks of violence.

The Assam government said it would not halt the voting despite the widespread violence, including the beheading by villagers Tuesday of Satya N. Ram, a candidate belonging to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's Congress-I Party. Voting started Monday and further rounds were scheduled for Thursday and Sunday.

The Assam state government said 50,000 members of the security forces would ensure a "peaceful and orderly" climate so people could vote "freely and fearlessly." The three members of the Central Reserve Police Force were shot and killed by Assam state police during riots in Dhubri, Gualpara district, 900 miles (1,440 kilometers) east of New Delhi, officials said.

An official statement said that "due to some misunderstanding created by miscreants," Assam police opened fire on a crowd "resulting in death by bullet injuries to three persons" of the Central Reserve.

The violence started Feb. 1 after militant Assamese called a boycott of the elections for Assam's state legislative assembly and for representatives to the nation's lower house of Parliament.

They were protesting Mrs. Gandhi's refusal to strip about four million Bengali immigrants of voting rights. They have also demanded that all illegal Bengali immigrants be sent home.

On Wednesday, 15 houses in a village in Gualpara district were set afire, forcing people to flee, officials said.

In the worst incident of violence, 150 Assamese were massacred Saturday night by Bodo tribesmen. Officials said that Mr. Ram was beheaded Tuesday as he addressed a campaign rally in Assam's Darrang district that was attacked by 250 villagers with spears, machetes and knives.

Violence disrupted voting Mon-

day resulting in a low turnout in urban areas and a moderate response in Bengali-dominated rural areas where Mrs. Gandhi is popular.

Voting has been staggered to allow maximum protection for the 3,000 polling stations. About half of Assam's nine million native Assamese are expected to boycott the polls.

## U.K. Reportedly Set To Drop Its Oil Prices

By Barnaby Feder

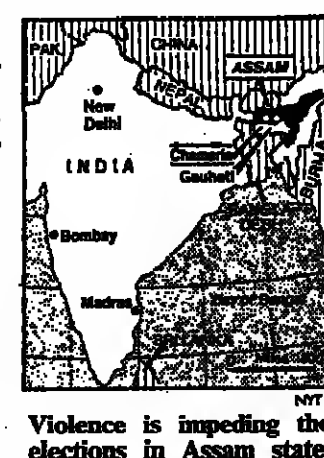
New York Times Service

LONDON — Oil industry sources said Wednesday that British National Oil Corp. is prepared to drop its North Sea oil prices by \$3 to \$3.50 a barrel Friday in the most significant price break since the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries failed to reach agreement on prices and production quotas at the end of last month.

Such a decline would put extreme pressure on Nigeria and Libya, the two OPEC producers whose oil most resembles North Sea crude in quality. Oil traders and stock analysts here agreed that Norway would follow the state-owned British trading company's lead immediately and that OPEC itself would adjust prices downward in a matter of weeks.

"If BNOC goes down and OPEC fails to overcome its disarray, then you have a risk for more downward movement," said a spokesman for a major oil company.

Officially, BNOC would only say that negotiations with suppliers and buyers were continuing and that it would make a proposal on Friday. The company controls the price because it trades an average of 1.3 million barrels a day of North Sea oil, more than half the 2.2 million barrels a day the British sector produces. With about 50 suppliers bound to it by royalty and participation agreements and about 30 customers, BNOC responds to market forces by re-



Violence is impeding the elections in Assam state.

negotiating its recommended trading price when supply and demand get too far out of kilter.

In fact, according to industry sources, the negotiations usually result in prices fairly close to those urged by British majors such as BP and Shell, who both produce North Sea oil and use it in refining operations that become uncompetitive if the oil is too costly.

In recent weeks, recommendations to BNOC have ranged from maintaining the current price of \$33.50 a barrel to a cut of \$8 a barrel. Privately, production-oriented companies now describe \$2.50 as a "reasonable" drop while buyers harbor hopes for \$4. More neutral sources, such as oil traders, have become convinced that \$3.50 is the likely outcome.

Pressure to go ahead with the cuts in advance of a move by OPEC has been strongest from Gulf Oil, which has refused two shipments of BNOC oil at the current price.

Several factors in addition to buyer pressure and cuts by smaller oil producers were said to have helped BNOC to convince reluctant government officials, reportedly including Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, that the time had come to drop prices. An important one was the spot market, where leading North Sea crudes Wednesday traded for the fourth consecutive day at about \$29 a barrel. Spot trading continued to be very thin in anticipation of the cut.

## Official Affirms PLO Willingness To Accept the Existence of Israel

By Jonathan C. Randal

Washington Post Service

ALGIERS — Khaled al-Fahoum, chairman of the Palestine National Council, said Wednesday that "we don't want to destroy any state" in the Middle East, but shied away from pledging to recognize Israel under what he called Prime Minister Menachem Begin's "racist and expansionist" stewardship.

"We don't want to drive anybody into the sea," the presiding officer of the unofficial Palestinian parliament-in-exile said at a news conference, paraphrasing traditional Israeli accusations directed at the Palestine Liberation Organization.

"Nor," he added, "do we want to be driven into the desert."

He was responding to persistent efforts to pin down the PLO attitude toward the peace plan approved by an Arab summit in September at Fez, Morocco. The plan provides for the security of all states in the region to be guaranteed by the United Nations Security Council.

Mr. Fahoum declared that he was "100 per cent sure there will be no split" in PLO ranks and that its chairman, Yasser Arafat, would "come out stronger than ever" at the end of the council's meetings.

But Mr. Arafat's Palestinian critics kept up their tactics of harassment in an effort to limit the new mandate that he concede he is sure to win here.

To the anger of Arafat loyalists, Farouk Kaddoumi, the head of the PLO "foreign ministry," joined the critics and hinted that Mr. Arafat had operated beyond agreed policy.

Long considered pro-Soviet, Mr. Kaddoumi reiterated Moscow's tough line in denouncing President Ronald Reagan's Mideast peace plan as being no different than the Camp David accords that Palestinians are convinced led to Israel's peace treaty with Egypt and their eviction last summer from Beirut.

the Palestine Liberation Organization.

To thunderous applause, Mr. Kaddoumi said the Reagan plan, which provides for an association between Jordan and Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, simply considers "Jordan as a replacement for Palestine."

The plan, he said, was aimed at "liquidating" the Palestinian revolution, and supposedly positive points were a sham.

U.S. Mideast policy, he asserted, had two aims: to strengthen Israel and to diminish Soviet influence.

He praised the Soviet bloc and advocated strengthened relations with Syria, which many delegates believed tried hard to prevent the council from convening this week.

Mr. Kaddoumi also said the present PLO leadership should conduct a thorough self-criticism after the Beirut defeat and pay more attention to the fate of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Even if the wording of the council's final resolution dealing with the Reagan plan refrains from formal rejection — as is expected — it seems clear that no one in the PLO really believes Mr. Reagan's ideas are viable.

But because Mr. Begin has rejected the plan out of hand, it is perceived to be in the PLO's interest to show at least formal interest in it, despite the PLO's basic misgivings.

## Scandinavians Ask Missile Delay

The Associated Press

KOEBE, Denmark — Social Democratic and labor leaders from Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark called Wednesday for a halt to preparations for deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe as long as the United States and the Soviet Union are negotiating at Geneva.

In a resolution at the end of a two-day conference, the leaders said one solution would be for the Soviet Union to reduce the number of its SS-20 missiles while the West refrains from deploying its 572 Pershing-2 and cruise missiles.

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Nevertheless, his attitude toward whites is so central to the state's contention that he was the behind-the-scenes manipulator of an underground black youth group called The Comrades that the prosecutor, Johan Slabbert, led off his cross-examination of Mr. Mpetha by asking, "What are your feelings toward the whites?"

It was a question Mr. Mpetha had to answer repeatedly in three days on the stand. Once he described going to a labor meeting at which the thesis was advanced that in South Africa the term "worker," by definition, means a black.

"When I heard that, I took my hat and left," Mr. Mpetha told the court.

The length of the trial is due to the number of the accused, the intricacy of legal arguments about the admissibility of pretrial statements and a slow pace that allows for long vacations for the lawyers and Judge Deneys Williamson.

The state's case is based mainly on the testimony of black youths from Nyanga, most of whom were held in detention until they testified.

Only a handful of these have positively implicated Mr. Mpetha, and their testimony has been notable for its inconsistencies. Mr. Mpetha steadfastly denied all these allegations and furnished a de-

nial account of his activities on the day of the rioting.

One of the witnesses, Phillip Nyongwana, who was 15 years old at the time of the disturbances, had placed Mr. Mpetha at a meeting in a church that occurred shortly before the two motorists were killed. The youth testified Thursday that he had told the police what they wanted to hear so they would stop questioning him.

South Africans Raze A Black Shantytown

The Associated Press

CAPE TOWN — Government demolition crews guarded by armed cars knocked down about 500 squatters' shacks Wednesday, wrecking a black shantytown, witnesses said.

Sporadic stone-throwing broke out Tuesday evening as crews sent by the white minority government moved into the site on the edge of the Gugulethu township, about 10 miles (16 kilometers) east of Cape Town. A 20-year-old black youth was shot after trying to steal a bus during the skirmish, but he was not seriously wounded, police said.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Adelman Seen Losing Panel Vote

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted Wednesday to postpone a vote on President Ronald Reagan's choice of Kenneth L. Adelman as arms control director to give the president a chance to withdraw the nomination.

The delay was sought when it became apparent that the nomination of Mr. Adelman as director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency would be rejected by the committee. Senator Paul Tsongas, Massachusetts Democrat, said, "The vote right now is 9-8 to reject."

Mr. Adelman, 36, currently deputy U.S. delegate to the United Nations, has been criticized for his lack of background in arms control matters. He was nominated for the post after Mr. Reagan dismissed Eugene V. Rostow last month.

### U.S. Aide for Europe Confirmed

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Senate, after holding a closed session, voted Wednesday 81-11 to confirm the nomination of Richard R. Burt as assistant secretary of state for European affairs.

The closed session had been requested by opponents of the nomination to discuss classified intelligence matters relating to a news story that Mr. Burt wrote in 1979 as a reporter for The New York Times. "I had nothing new," Senator Charles McC. Mathias Jr., Republican of Maryland, said later in urging the confirmation of Mr. Burt.

Action on the nomination had been delayed for several months by conservative senators who said that Mr. Burt had damaged U.S. security by revealing in his news story the existence of a secret U.S. spy satellite.

### Smith Calls on Mugabe to Resign

HARARE, Zimbabwe (AP) — Ian Smith, who was prime minister of Rhodesia's white minority government, called Wednesday on Robert Mugabe's government to resign after a government official refused answer questions about alleged atrocities committed against civilians in Matabeleland.

"A good number of dissidents and their collaborators have died, but I regret that I cannot give any figures at the present time," the minister said for defense, Sydney Sekeramayi, said in answer to questions in Parliament about alleged massacres, looting and raping by government soldiers.

Mr. Smith announced that he would formally call on the government to resign next Wednesday. Mr. Smith cited alleged human rights violations, abuses of the constitution, interference with the administration of justice, a "serious breakdown" in maintaining law and order and "incompetent" handling of the economy.

### Iranian Hijacker Held in Mexico

MEXICO CITY (UPI) — An Iranian was being held in Mexico City Wednesday after hijacking a plane in Texas to protest U.S. policy toward Iran.

Armed with an automatic rifle and a firebomb, the hijacker threatened Tuesday to blow up the Rio Airways commuter aircraft, forcing it to Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, airline officials said. All 21 persons aboard the plane were released unharmed after the man was promised passage to Cuba.

The Mexican Interior Ministry identified the hijacker as Hossein Shah Kholaji, 37, who had served as a pilot in the Iranian Air Force and was studying in the United States. The ministry said that it was trying to comply with his demand for safe passage to Cuba. The United States said it was studying whether to seek extradition.

### Italy Urges Doctors to End Strike

ROME (Reuters) — Health Minister Renato Altissimo called in representatives of striking doctors Wednesday to negotiate an end of a walk-out at state hospitals.

Mr. Altissimo urged them to sign a document that would provide improved pay and working conditions for 630,000 health service workers, a ministry spokesman said.

Representatives of more than 550,000 hospital workers signed the document earlier this month, but hospital doctors are pressing for a separate contract recognizing their special status.

### Poles Criticize Western Reporting

WARSAW (Reuters) — Poland's official press accused Western news organizations Wednesday of creating an image of Poland as a hotbed of tension by their reports of street disturbances in three cities Sunday evening.

A commentary by the PAP press agency said the reports were intended to suggest that "everything is falling to pieces in Warsaw and that great tension prevails in the Polish capital."

The PAP commentary condemned what it called the "sensational reporting" about a demonstration involving several hundred people during the weekend and said: "Every resident of Warsaw knows that life is going on normally in this city and that it cannot be disturbed by a minor incident with a small group of people behaving in a provocative way."

### UN Commission Backs East Timor

GENEVA (AP) — The UN Human Rights Commission approved a measure Wednesday asserting that the people of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed, "must be enabled freely to determine their own future."

The measure, adopted 16-14, urged Portugal and Indonesia "to cooperate fully with the United Nations with a view to guaranteeing the free and full exercise of the right to self-determination."

Indonesia circulated a memorandum outlining its opposition to the resolution and stating "deepest concern at the suffering of the people of East Timor." It also said the East Timorese had already "exercised the right to self-determination and opted for integration" with Indonesia. A Portuguese memorandum accused Indonesia of "exercising various political, social, cultural and religious pressures" in East Timor.

### Panel Urges Soviet Troop Pullout

GENEVA (Reuters) — The United Nations Human Rights Commission called Wednesday for an immediate Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan.

Approving a resolution that was opposed by the Soviet Union, the commission said that the withdrawal should occur within the framework of a political settlement that included the right for Afghan refugees to return home "in safety and honor."

The resolution, submitted by 22 countries, was approved 29-7 with 5 abstentions. It supported UN-sponsored talks on a political solution and asked Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar to continue the negotiations. A second round of talks will begin here in April between Pakistan and Afghanistan. Iran has refused to attend.

### Bishops Assail Marcos Government

MANILA (AP) — The Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines accused President Ferdinand E. Marcos' government Wednesday of repression and warned it against torturing and killing political opponents.

The conference of the country's 110 bishops also accused the government of corruption and economic mismanagement. It said that the increasing poverty and growing discontent could not be remedied by lavish projects and empty propaganda.

The prelates made the charges in a joint pastoral letter to be read Sunday in the more than 3,000 churches of this predominantly Catholic nation of more than 50 million people.

### Soviet Denies Poison Allegations

UNITED NATIONS, New York (UPI) — The Soviet Union denounced Wednesday a report by Secretary of State George P. Shultz on chemical warfare in Southeast Asia and Afghanistan as a mixture of slanderous conjecture and distorted fact.

The Shultz report, which was made last November, accused the Kremlin and its allies of using chemical and toxic weapons against resistance fighters.

Oleg Troyanovsky, the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, asked Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar to circulate the Soviet response as a UN document.

### CIA Ex-Agent Is Charged in Plot

NEW YORK (AP) — Edwin P. Wilson, a former CIA agent convicted of smuggling arms and explosives to Libya, was indicted Wednesday with his son on charges of trying to arrange the killing of federal prosecutors and witnesses.

The indictment in a federal court in Manhattan alleged that Mr. Wilson offered \$1 million for the planned killings while he was being held in New York last year awaiting trials in Virginia and Texas. Contact was made with a "hit man" who really was an FBI agent, the indictment said. The agent allegedly was given a down payment of \$9,800 by Mr. Wilson's son, Erik, 22, of Washington.

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## Justice Department Will Investigate EPA

By Leslie Maitland

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The U.S. Justice Department will investigate whether Environmental Protection Agency employees destroyed subpoenaed documents and whether the agency's former assistant administrator, Rita M. Lavelle, violated laws on conflict of interest, according to Reagan administration officials.

The officials said Tuesday that Anne M. Gorsuch, administrator of the EPA, had asked that the Justice Department investigate the matter.

Both issues are central to the battle between the administration and Congress that erupted in December when the House cited Mrs. Gorsuch for contempt for refusing to turn over documents about the agency's efforts to clean up toxic waste dumps. Mrs. Gorsuch said she was acting on President Ronald Reagan's orders.

Meanwhile, the administration's efforts to reach a compromise that would end the House's effort to prosecute Mrs. Gorsuch for contempt appeared to be moving forward.

The Justice Department's decision to investigate represents a marked shift in its position. As the conflict between the House and the administration has intensified, several congressional committees have begun investigations of the EPA on a variety of charges, and now the Justice Department, which has been defending Mrs. Gorsuch against the contempt citation, will conduct its own inquiries into some of the same charges.

House members and administration officials both expressed optimism Tuesday that they could reach an agreement that would resolve the impasse and end the contempt charge.

Administration officials said that in a meeting Saturday between Deputy Attorney General Edward C. Schmidt and Representative Elliott M. Levitas, whose subcommittee subpoenaed the EPA documents, a detailed plan for granting the subcommittee access to the contested documents had been proposed.

Administration officials said their offer satisfied what House members have said was their need for full access to EPA documents to do a thorough investigation of the agency's enforcement of the \$1.6-billion program for cleaning toxic waste sites.

Also, because the agency contends releasing the contested documents could jeopardize current investigations, the proposal provides for sharply limiting the number of people allowed to see them.

Under the proposal only Representative Levitas, a Georgia Democrat, would be permitted to see the documents. Other committee members and their staffs would be permitted to see edited versions of the documents, with highly sensitive information removed, but would receive detailed briefings on the data that was withheld.

On Monday, the EPA reached a negotiated settlement with Hugh H. Kaufman, a special assistant in the agency's hazardous waste division who had charged the agency was mismanaging its toxic waste program.



Anne M. Gorsuch

## California Plans IOUs As Money Runs Out

By Robert Lindsey

New York Times Service

LOS ANGELES — California, whose Democrat-controlled Legislature and new Republican governor have been at a standoff for weeks over how to close a \$1.5-billion budget deficit, is all but certain to have to pay some bills with IOUs next week.

With the state spending \$4 million a day more than it is taking in, a \$200-million payment to a consortium of banks due next Tuesday and the state's governmental machinery deadlocked, officials say they have no choice but to begin issuing the IOUs instead of checks next Wednesday.

The IOUs, called registered warrants, commit the state to redeem them, plus 5 percent annual interest, when funds are available. They were last used by California to pay its bills during the Depression in the 1930s.

"There is no hope of avoiding it," State Controller Ken Cory said at a news conference Tuesday in Sacramento.

Few California officials expected the warrants to be issued for more than a day or two, and some aides to the new governor, George Deukmejian, said a few hours after the news conference that they were close to an agreement on ending the deficit.

The development is the most vivid evidence yet that five years after Proposition 13 was approved by California voters, slashing property-tax collections by 60 percent, the state government has not cut expenditures to adjust to its fiscal realities. It also points up the political difficulties the state government faces.

A compromise that was in the making collapsed over the week-

end, but one is still expected in a matter of days.

Governor Deukmejian, a conservative and a close ally of President Ronald Reagan, was elected on a promise not to raise taxes. The Democratic leaders of the Legislature say the state's 6-percent sales tax must be increased.

The state, which touched off an epidemic of local tax-cutting measures across the United States after its voters passed Proposition 13 in 1978, has slashed its tax collections by billions of dollars in the last five years but has not cut expenditures proportionately. A surplus in the state treasury of more than \$4 billion has been exhausted.

Mr. Cory and State Treasurer Jesse M. Urruh, both Democrats, have been warning for months that the state might have to issue the registered warrants.

Since taking office Jan. 3, Mr. Deukmejian has argued that the deficit could be erased by cutting spending and through the use of accounting techniques that would shift more than half of the \$1.5-billion deficit projected for the current fiscal year, which ends June 30, into the next fiscal year.

At that time, Mr. Deukmejian says, an improved national economy will substantially increase state revenues. State Democratic officials have called the plan unrealistic.

Mr. Cory and Mr. Urruh said the consortium of banks from which the state borrowed \$400 million last fall had agreed to lend more money to help the state solve its cash-flow squeeze, but only if the governor and the Legislature agreed on a plan to balance the budget.

## Thais Arrest 2 Americans Reportedly on POW Mission

By Bob Secor

Los Angeles Times Service

BANGKOK — Two Americans reportedly on a POW rescue mission organized by a former Green Beret lieutenant colonel, James G. Griz, were jailed for two days in northeastern Thailand on charges of possessing illegal communications equipment, authorities report.

Police said Tuesday that Lance E. Trimmer, 43, and Lynn Standerwick, 25, were arrested Sunday at a rented house in Nakhon Phanom, the capital of Nakhon Phanom province 450 miles (720 kilometers) northeast of Bangkok, across the Mekong River from Laos.

In a telephone interview late Tuesday, Mr. Trimmer said he and Miss Standerwick were out of jail at the moment but that he was "not sure" that they were out of trouble.

Mr. Trimmer denied any knowledge of illegal radio equipment. He also denied any connection with Mr. Griz, a resident of Westchester, California, who has organized missions in the past to rescue American servicemen thought to be held prisoner in Laos since the Vietnam war. Mr. Griz is in Southeast Asia on another such rescue mission.

"I came up here to see a friend who is going to take me to a refugee camp, and they [the police] came in the house, and this thing [the radio] is in another room that I don't know anything about," Mr. Trimmer said.

Mr. Trimmer identified himself as a tourist and Miss Standerwick said she was a representative of an international Boy Scout organization, according to Lieutenant Colonel Thalermsakdi Sukhonthamarn of the provincial police.

However, both Mr. Trimmer and Miss Standerwick have been linked with Mr. Griz in the past. Associates say they are part of his current mission.

Miss Standerwick is the daughter of an air force pilot whose plane was shot down over Laos in 1971. She was identified by associates of Mr. Griz as one of several women on the Griz team who are daughters of U.S. servicemen missing in action in Southeast Asia.

In a recent interview, Mr. Griz said the daughters were stationed at a "safe house" in Washington during November and December while he led a group of Americans and anti-Communist Laotian guerrillas on an unsuccessful mission into Laos. One Laotian was killed and three were wounded.

In the house, Mr. Griz said, the women helped to monitor a telephone that carried messages from Mr. Griz in Laos through a radio relay point in Nakhon Phanom to Washington. For the current mission, Mr. Griz said, he is using some of the women as support personnel.

Mr. Trimmer operated the radio

equipment in Nakhon Phanom during the November-December mission, Charles J. Patterson, a former Army Special Forces sergeant, said in an interview last month. During the mission, Mr. Patterson, 37, accompanied Mr. Griz into Laos in an effort financed in part by Hollywood stars — and aided by sophisticated military equipment made available to Mr. Griz by Litton Industries Inc.

Thai authorities have been searching for Mr. Griz and his team ever since the highly decorated Vietnam veteran returned to Thailand last month to search for Americans he contends were captured during the U.S. involvement in Indochina and may still be alive.

Nearly 2,500 servicemen were once considered missing in action

in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Virtually all of them, however, are now listed as dead by the Pentagon, although their bodies have not been recovered.

The Thai government has denounced Mr. Griz' rescue attempts and ordered police in northeastern Thailand to arrest him and his followers. Mr. Griz associates have said, however, that it was "too late" to keep him from carrying out his plan to enter Laos.

State Department officials have denied any government involvement with the Griz missions and have denounced them as counterproductive to official U.S. efforts to secure information from the Laotian government about Americans killed or missing in action.

The phone interview with Mr. Trimmer was held shortly after he and Miss Standerwick were visited

at the jail by John Muehlke, the U.S. consul for northeastern Thailand.

Colonel Thalermsakdi said Mr. Trimmer and Miss Standerwick were charged with illegally possessing a radio transmitter that could interfere with or intercept Thai military communications. He said the charge carried a maximum penalty of five years in jail.

However, it was unclear Tuesday why Mr. Trimmer and Miss Standerwick had been let out of jail or what the status of the charges against them was. Mr. Trimmer would not answer questions about the charges.

The phone interview with Mr. Trimmer was held shortly after he and Miss Standerwick were visited

at the jail by John Muehlke, the U.S. consul for northeastern Thailand.

Mr. Muehlke, who took Mr. Trimmer and Miss Standerwick to a local police official's house for a private talk, refused to discuss the case with a reporter or to disclose his government position. Richard Virden, a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok, identified Mr. Muehlke as a consular official whose job is to assist U.S. citizens with legal problems.

In Irving, Texas, Raul Chavez, the national spokesman for the Boy Scouts of America, said his organization "does not have any official or unofficial program that would be considered covert. This is really bizarre. This is wild."

## Report to UN Panel Cites 2 Million Executions

By Iain Guest

International Herald Tribune

GENEVA — At least two million people have been summarily executed around the world in the last 15 years for their opposition to governments, according to a new report released Wednesday for the current session of the UN Human Rights Commission.

The report was prepared by a Kenyan lawyer, Amos Wako, on the basis of a Scandinavian proposal at the 1982 session of the commission. The proposal was accepted at that time by 33 delegations. Ethiopia was alone in opposing it. Eight delegations abstained, including those of the Soviet bloc.

After a preliminary reading here Wednesday, delegates agreed that the report — which Mr. Wako had only four months to prepare — is certain to prove controversial when it is discussed by the commission later this month.

The report states that Mr. Wako received allegations against 37 governments. Of these, 11 are members of the commission, which is the United Nations' principal forum for enforcing and defending human rights.

The 11 governments are those of Argentina, Bangladesh, Brazil, Colombia, India, Libya, Mozambique, Pakistan, the Philippines, Uganda and Zaire.

Some observers predicted that Mr. Wako's report will be attacked in the commission for its reliance on unnamed sources, even though most of the information is known to have come from authoritative human rights pressure groups, such as Amnesty International and the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists.

Delegates are also expected to point to the lack of contact between Mr. Wako and the governments involved. After he circulated a general request for information,

on Sept. 17 last year, only 29 governments replied. Among those which did not respond were several governments from Western Europe, including the Netherlands, all of the Eastern European countries, the United States and Canada.

Even more serious, in the view of some observers, is the lack of response from those governments actually charged with carrying out the killings. Of the 37, only 11 responded to the charges.

The most detailed replies came from the governments of Guatemala, Iran, Mali and South Korea. Guatemala denounces the charge as "heartless and inaccurate."

A response by Turkey, sent Jan. 5, has been omitted from Mr.

Iran is charged with between 4,500 and 20,000 summary executions since 1980. The Tehran government complained in its response that most of the information sent to Mr. Wako came from the outlawed Mujahidin group, under the leadership of Massoud Rajavi. The Iranian response contains several pages outlining terrorist incidents allegedly carried out by the Mujahidin in 1981 and 1982.

The reply from Mali denounces allegations by Amnesty International that it was responsible for the deaths of 18 schoolchildren in 1979-80.

A response by Turkey, sent Jan. 5, has been omitted from Mr.

## Foreign Aid Could Counter Soviet, Shultz Says in Urging Its Funding

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George P. Shultz appealed Wednesday for congressional support of the Reagan administration's \$14.5-billion foreign aid package.

Speaking at the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Mr. Shultz said that the aid would help promote economic recovery among developing nations. "The fault line of global instability runs strongly across the continents of the Third World," he said. "This instability is inimical to our security in many ways." He added that "the Soviet Union and its allies are able to feed on political instability."

He was expected to face close questioning by Democrats over the \$9.2 billion that President Ronald Reagan is requesting for military aid and security-related economic assistance in fiscal 1984.

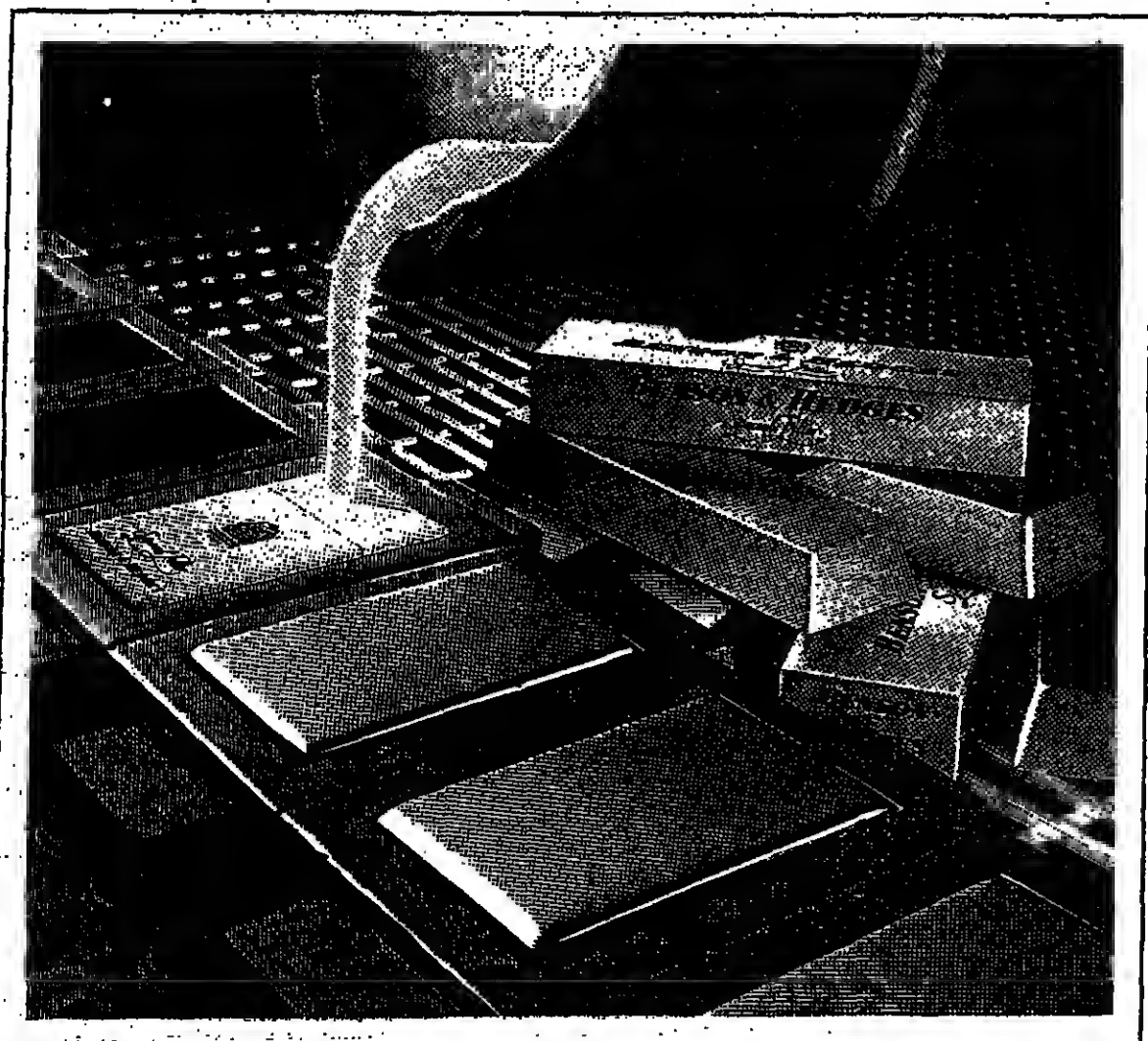
The administration also is seeking an additional \$837 million in foreign military assistance for the current fiscal year, which ends on Sept. 30.

Wako's final report. The Turkish statement said that since Sept. 12, 1980, the date of the military takeover, 24 "murderers" had been executed after due process. It said that last year, 15,902 people were arrested and that "7,332 convicted people are serving their terms in prison."

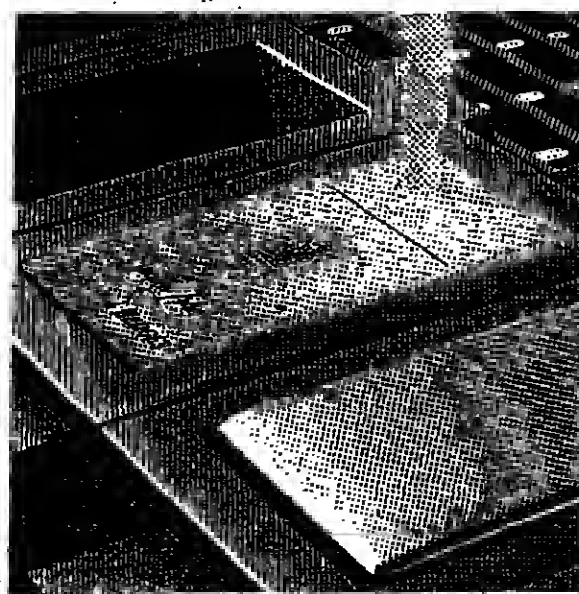
The report did not say why the Turkish response was omitted.



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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Midgetman Missiles

There is an irony in the arms race: Sometimes the weapons that most threaten American security are those invented by the United States. A case in point is the MIRV missile, the multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicle that the United States started deploying in the 1960s. It was Moscow's deployment of its own MIRVs that has made America's 1,000 fixed, land-based Minutemen theoretically vulnerable and created the pressure to find alternatives, like the 10-warhead MX.

Now President Ronald Reagan's new Commission on Strategic Forces, while restudying the MX and other remedies, has cut through to the heart of the problem. It has opened the possibility of returning to small, single-warhead intercontinental missiles: Midgetman in place of Minuteman. It is a possibility that deserves every encouragement.

The presumed American vulnerability, contrary to common impression, does not arise so much because of the size or accuracy of Moscow's heavy missiles. The Russians are presumed to be gaining a first-strike capability because of their MIRVs. And America's effort to threaten them, in turn, with the MX can only compound the problem.

No invulnerable basing system has been found for the MX, even after studies of 34 alternatives. The MX would thus constitute both a threat to Soviet land missiles and a tempting target. Building it would only foster instability, increasing the danger that in a crisis, the Soviet Union would shoot first.

It is now understood that blunting the numbers of missile but allowing them to carry multiple warheads provides a premium for an attacker. Allowing for mistakes and misses, 10 missiles carrying 10 warheads each could, it is

thought, destroy 40 to 45 of an enemy's missiles. But if each side had only single-warhead missiles, an attack would be a form of self-dismantment: the attacker would have to expend 100 missiles to destroy 40 to 45 of the enemy's missiles.

So turning to a 22,000-pound (10,000-kilogram) Midgetman missile would permit a more stable, more verifiable system of silo deployment — if the United States and Soviet Union agreed to do-MIRV as well as to reduce their missiles over a period of years.

Conservative defense analysts like William Van Cleave of the University of Southern California have long favored a return to small, single-warhead missiles. The first to propose it was probably Professor Herbert York, the former Pentagon director of research and engineering and a leading member of the arms control community.

To deal, in arms control, with the asymmetries in Soviet and American forces will require careful formulas. But there is no lack of them. Interesting de-MIRVing proposals have been made by Sidney Drell, a Stanford physicist, and Representative Albert A. Gore Jr. of Tennessee, among others. Senators William S. Cohen of Maine and Sam Nunn of Georgia have introduced a "build-down" resolution calling upon the superpowers, when they add a new weapon, to eliminate two that are older and less stabilizing.

Gaining Soviet agreement would not be easy. But the first step is for the United States, which invented the MIRV, to start phasing it out. Substituting a small, single-warhead missile is an idea whose time came, and has now come again.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.



## If Europe Wants a 'Moral' Defense, It Must Be Prepared to Pay For It

By William Pfaff

OXFORD, England — The nuclear debate at its most ferocious is a moral debate; yet the main moral issue usually is avoided. It is that the West is unwilling to pay what morality costs. The Oxford military historian Michael Howard has just made exactly this point in a letter to the Times of London, noting that the Western countries decided in 1953 to rely on nuclear weapons for Europe's defense simply because it was the cheapest thing to do.

It was a politically popular decision and allowed the West a large margin for social expenditures and economic development. Mr. Howard even credited it for the West's enjoyment, since the 1950s, of living standards unparalleled in history. The policy of more bang for the buck, as they say at the time, put more bucks — and pounds, francs, lira and marks — into the pockets of Western voters and purchasers.

But like it or not, it was a moral decision. NATO thereby obliged itself to initiate nuclear war to counter a major land attack by the Soviet Union. It was a moral decision, and one that lies uneasily upon the Western conscience today. Poll after poll shows that the vast majority in the West are quite willing to threaten nuclear retaliation for a Soviet nuclear attack, and that they oppose unilateral nuclear disarmament. But first use is something else.

Last year four men not otherwise known for moralizing foreign policy positions — Robert McNamara, Gerard C. Smith, George Kennan and McGeorge Bundy — called on the United States to give up first use ("Paying Off the Alliance's Nuclear Mortgage," IHT, Nov. 17). The Roman Catholic bishops in the United States have drafted a statement on nuclear policy which, in its present (provisional) form, condemns a policy of first use. The Anglican General Synod did the same at its recent meeting in London.

In Western Europe, especially the German Federal Republic, this often is interpreted with alarm, as a disguised retreat from the NATO commitment to defend Europe. It is argued that conventional defense is not feasible. That to abandon the first-use threat invites Soviet conventional attack, or political blackmail. That, in any case, conventional war in Europe would be as bad as nuclear war.

The last is nonsense. The first two statements are arguable in current conditions. A European may reasonably doubt that a U.S. renunciation of nuclear first use would be accompanied by any serious reinforcement of American conventional forces. It probably would signal a larger U.S. disengagement from Europe, unless there were a determined European effort to reform the alliance.

Europeans may also doubt that their own governments would supply the necessary conventional forces. This may be so. But it brings up fundamental questions of threat assessment and political will. Since Western Europe has a larger industrial plant and gross national product than the combined Warsaw Pact, much greater technological sophistication, a much larger technological and scientific base, and a population that numerically is roughly equivalent to which is far better educated, there is no evident reason why it could not field conventional forces sufficient to raise the costs of a Soviet convention-

al attack to an unacceptable level. It would be expensive and unpopular for the West European governments to do this. But if West Europeans really believe in the Soviet threat, this is what needs to be done.

On the whole, Europeans have preferred illusion. West Germans want to be defended, but not on West German soil. Not on East German soil either. France would prefer, if possible, to be left out of the battle. That is why it has an independent nuclear deterrent. It is not to be fighting, Europeans would prefer it to be on the territory of the two superpowers. This unstated belief is the exact reverse of the popular pacifists' or neutralists' allegation that the superpowers want to fight their war in Europe.

The fact is, any war over Europe will be fought in Europe. Germany is where the Cold War started. If Germany today could be towed away to the South Pacific, the United States and the Soviet Union would have to

ask themselves again what their quarrel is all about.

Moreover, what makes the nuclear threat so peculiarly dangerous today is this American commitment to defend Europe with nuclear weapons against conventional attack. Nuclear deterrence against nuclear attack is fairly simple. What complicates nuclear strategy is the present need of the United States to "extend" deterrence. This is where force requirements become dictated by complicated and not entirely plausible scenarios of nuclear escalation, escalation dominance, war-fighting, and war-winning.

The defense of the West today rests on the threat to inaugurate nuclear war. The strategic credibility of this threat diminishes daily. Its morality is hard to defend. Something has to be done. The obvious solution, painful as it may be, is to re-create a conventional defense able to deter conventional attack. The failure to do so corrodes the foundations of the alliance.

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## U.S. Laboratories Take On An Increasingly Khaki Hue

By Daniel S. Greenberg

WASHINGTON — As a symbol of American science, the olive drab laboratory coat merits attention. For, in the budget that President Ronald Reagan recently sent to Congress, the military services are allocated nearly 70 percent of all the money that the U.S. government plans to spend next year for seeking and applying new knowledge.

The sums and the pace of growth for defense-supported research are huge, and so is the change in the budgeting balance between military and civilian shares of the government's R&D, or research and development, resources. What the change amounts to is the progressive militarization of the American research enterprise.

Twenty years ago, the federal government's spending on R&D settled into a roughly 50-50 division between military and civilian purposes, with a little more than \$7 billion for the Pentagon and about the same amount for a flock of agencies concerned with health, energy, science education and so forth. Defense R&D, however, began to forge ahead in the latter years of the Carter administration, so that by the time Mr. Reagan took office, the balance had decisively shifted in favor of military spending.

He promptly accelerated that shift by cutting civilian research, while adding vast sums to the Pentagon's research budget. Thus, civilian R&D — which had been at \$17 billion in 1981 — was cut back to an annual level of \$14 billion in 1982 and 1983. Mr. Reagan's budget for the coming fiscal year would keep it at that figure, while spending on national security R&D would go up to nearly \$32 billion.

While putting colossal sums into research on the politically explosive MX missile, the administration is holding the line on health research. There is a big budget boost for the

civilian National Science Foundation, but, rather than spreading the new funds to a variety of needy areas, it is concentrated on fields of prime interest to the military services — physics, chemistry, mathematics.

The new budget has been hailed by Mr. Reagan's science adviser, George A. Keyworth Jr., as an important contribution to the administration's goals of industrial revival. But what is left out is that foreign competitors in high-technology markets spend the previous little of their national R&D budgets on military purposes. In contrast to the United States' 70 percent, Japan spends less than 5 percent; West Germany, perhaps 10 percent. An exception to be noted with alarm is Britain, whose industrial anemia is not unrelated to the 50-percent share of government R&D allocated to the armed services.

Mr. Reagan's research planners contend that military domination of the government's research spending has been offset by a rapid increase in industrial spending on R&D. The sums have indeed risen sharply, so that, overall, industry now reports R&D spending that exceeds the government's own outlays. But even in the White House science office it is suspected that a lot of those industrial figures reflect definitional shifts to get tax benefits, rather than actual increases in laboratory work.

In the final analysis, no amount of number shuffling can cover up the reality of a government research policy that has run out of control in its obsession with military technology. The Pentagon is delighted by the lion's share of government research funds. It may be speculated that the foreign manufacturers who fare so well in American consumer goods are quite pleased, too.

The writer is editor and publisher of an independent newsletter, *Science & Government Report*.

## Soviet Succession May Not Be Over

By Myron Rush

ITHACA, New York — Instead of the turbulence and deep crisis that the world expected to follow Leonid I. Brezhnev's death, it witnessed the rapid choice of a successor, the shrewd and knowledgeable manager Yuri V. Andropov, and a seemingly smooth transfer of power. Is the crisis of succession over? Did Mr. Brezhnev's death transmute the acute political conflict of his last months into political order and a harmonious collective leadership? Not likely.

The political contest that placed heavy additional demands on the aging ruler (and may have contributed to his death) continues after him, but with the shifting loyalties and changing alliance characteristic of Soviet politics in times of instability and uncertainty.

This contest will decide not only the composition of the leadership and the character of its policies but also the balance among the key instruments of rule: the party apparatus, economic bureaucracy, political police and the army. That balance could change in fundamental ways, making the Soviet Union of Leonid Brezhnev — to which we in the West had grown accustomed — something quite different from that of Mr. Andropov.

When Mr. Brezhnev died, Mr. Andropov moved quickly to exploit the disarray of the weakened Brezhnev-Konstantin Chernenko faction. He secured the post of party general secretary in a fait accompli. Subsequently, the Chernenko faction regrouped its forces and prevented Mr. Andropov from acquiring Mr. Brezhnev's second key office — head of state. Even now, three months after Mr. Brezhnev's death, the post remains vacant, testimony to a temporary standoff between the rival factions.

Currently, the two factions are in an unstable balance. Mr. Andropov is mentioned prominently in the press and is now the recognized spokesman of the new leadership. Several regional leaders, who were among Mr. Chernenko's strongest supporters while Mr. Brezhnev lived, have since been in the forefront of those acknowledging Mr. Andropov's ascendancy.

As yet, however, Mr. Andropov has instituted no significant programs. His rival, Mr. Chernenko, continues to be presented as the second-ranking secretary (as he was under Mr. Brezhnev), and some pet Chernenko projects are being fostered. Moreover, by publicizing the Politburo's regular meetings, the new regime has paid tribute, at least, to the principle of collective leadership.

The balance of forces between the two sides is unusually difficult to assess, in part because the political weights of key institutions seem to have changed. Since about 1955, the apparatus of full-time party officials has been sovereign in Soviet politics, imposing its will on the economic bu-

reocracy, the army and the political police. Nikita S. Khrushchev was specially determined to maintain a party's supremacy and the subordination of the army and the KGB.

Mr. Brezhnev, however, altered the balance, increasing the political status of the army and the KGB (who chiefs became voting members of the Politburo after 1973). Through the 1970s, the army was nominally constantly growing budgets, while the KGB acquired increased sources and prestige to deal with consequences of détente, such as organized dissidents and increased contacts of citizens with foreigners.

Mr. Brezhnev still ruled through the party apparatus, but he engaged more actively in foreign

The balance of forces is unusually difficult to assess, partly because the political weights of key Soviet institutions seem to have changed.

affairs, he allowed his personal control to be diluted. Yet he refused to allow new blood into the Secretariat, which consequently lost vigor as it became less effective in enforcing party directives. In this way, Mr. Brezhnev's prolonged preoccupation with protecting his own power, and his belated decision to push Mr. Chernenko forward as his heir, widened the apex of the political arena. This provided an opening for Mr. Andropov last May, when Mr. Brezhnev was unable to prevent moving from the KGB into a position in the Secretariat.

After Mr. Brezhnev's death, Mr. Andropov — still basing himself largely in the KGB — succeeded in winning the top office in the party apparatus. By failing to protect himself from the intrusion of outside forces, the party apparatus displayed a surprising vulnerability.

The present instability in the leadership, and the shifting balance among the regime's institutions, leaves the situation fluid. Mr. Andropov's efforts to capitalize on this fluidity to win personal control of the party apparatus and consolidate personal power face formidable obstacles. If he beats the odds, he may be up ruling over a power structure in which the armed forces and the political police (at least initially) will be substantially more political weight than the party apparatus — as in past decades.

The writer is a professor of government at Cornell University. He contributed this comment to the *Los Angeles Times*.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Russian Nationalism

Regarding "The Hidden Face of Soviet Dissidence" (IHT, Feb. 11):

Stephen Cohen is quite correct to suggest that the human rights movement has been destroyed but that opposition to the regime continues to exist and is gathering a populist base.

However, Mr. Cohen is wrong to argue that this more political and clandestine opposition "lies primarily on the socialist left and extreme right." Undoubtedly these extremes exist, but so do the various tendencies of the broad center. Excluding the many non-Russian nationalist groups, there have also emerged several underground political organizations. I suggest Mr. Cohen study the political programs of such formations as the Initiative Group for National Democracy, the National Democratic Union and the Democratic National Front of the Soviet Union; they are not what one would call "Russian fascist."

These and other organizations do indeed appeal to Russian patriotism but if one dismisses all of them as "extreme" one is in danger of negating the vast majority of the anti-communist Russian population.

GEORGE MILLER,  
London.

### Good Neighbors

Regarding "Not So Neighboring: Books Shatter the U.S.-Canada Myth" (IHT, Feb. 10):

Let us not miss seeing the forest for the trees. The U.S.-Canada relations for the two countries' leaders. True, but nations sometimes differ, as first countries should, over what they interpret as their national interest.

Their temporarily elected heads of government may or may not agree along personally. Admittedly, Canada (and sometimes — though less often — the United States) can be a comfortable concerning certain issues and attitudes of its neighbor. But none of this changes the essential friendship between Canadians and Americans. They are two spiritual and share many cultural, historical, geographic, economic and political ties to ever really difficult to sever. For better or worse, richer or poorer, they must live together. They are cousins, one of which broke away violently from the family and the other which just grew away. They take each other for granted very often, but if one was attacked the other would come running without hesitation to help. Presidents and prime ministers do not incarnate their nations or their peoples.

AL ROSSUM,  
Paris.

### Made in Australia

Regarding "GATT Rule on Services Is Crucial" (IHT, Feb. 3):

Perhaps protectionism is not always as bad as Harry L. Froman of American Express thinks when he cites as a horrid example: "Australia forbids the screening of television commercials filmed abroad."

The spate of distinguished Australian films we have witnessed in the past decade was, in some ways, spawned by this measure. When Australian TV couldn't import non-Australian and soft-drink commercials made in the U.S.A. and had to generate its own, they provided apprenticeships for future filmmakers whose brevity, imagination, imagery and intercutting — later applied to serious subjects — are filling our screens with slick, provocative, well-made films for the masses that may be as important to cinema history as the Czech film renaissance of the 1960s was.

ALAN LEVY,  
Vienna.

Letters intended for publication should be addressed to the editor and contain the writer's signature, name and address. Brief letters receive priority, and letters may be abridged. We cannot accept all letters, but we value the views of the readers who submit them.

## Begin's Staying Power

The Israeli political system has been massaging the findings of the Beirut massacre inquiry, with disappointing results. It is a good thing for Ariel Sharon to have been removed from the Defense Ministry and from direct control of the country's armed forces. No doubt his designated replacement, Moshe Arens, intends to be defense minister in fact as well as name. But Mr. Sharon stays in the government and in a position to exercise some policy influence and continue his quest to succeed Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

For a while, many Israelis and others had hoped Mr. Begin would rise above political routine and accept the inquiry report in its broad spirit of political renewal. Mr. Begin chose instead to flatten the renewal, accepting the report in a minimal legalistic interpretation. He cut Mr. Sharon loose as defense chief only with the greatest reluctance and remains in his evident personal as well as political debt. After all the expectations stirred by the inquiry and the inquiry report, the political outcome has the look of a long climb for a short slide. This may be a time to come to grips with an important fact: the Begin government will not soon or easily be beaten at

the polls or swept aside by a tide of public opinion or a collapse of nerve. It is not for all time, but its durability is attested by the storms it has stirred and survived.

The practical significance of all this for the Reagan administration is that it must deal with the Begin government as it is — democratic and independent-minded — and not figure that some successor government is going to arrive on the scene and somehow make things easier for the United States. With or without such an event, it is only to be expected that the Begin government will continue to pursue Israeli interests, where these diverge from American interests, at least to the extent that it believes Americans will go along with its independent policy.

Quite obviously, the torment touched off in Israel by the Phalangist massacre in Beirut was not enough to erase the gains that the Israeli public otherwise finds were made in the Lebanese operation. That leaves as the only conceivable source of a political turn in Israel a chain of decisions by Jordan and the Palestinians presenting Israelis with a live negotiating partner in the West Bank.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Other Opinion

### An Opening in Cyprus

Cyprus has just started one of those brief moments in its history when progress toward a settlement of the island's troubles may be possible. The presidential elections are now behind the Greek Cypriots. Sunday's vote saw President Spyros Kyprianou receiving a clear mandate for his policy of negotiating with the Turkish Cypriots. At least six months remain until the dust of the promised election campaign begins to rise in Turkey, with the possible hardening of attitudes this could cause among the Turkish Cypriots. The best that outside powers can hope to achieve is to help create the conditions in which the inter-communal talks can at last begin to tackle the real issues dividing the two communities. Dramatic breakthroughs are not to be expected, but a clear opportunity for progress now exists.

—The Financial Times (London).

### Threats to the Press

When the Soviet Union commits new aggression against its few dissidents who dare to speak out, that repression is widely noted — as it should be. Or when the president of the Philippines closes a newspaper and arrests its senior staff for subversion, that spectacular blow against freedom attracts sweeping denunciation.

But censorship is a worldwide phenomenon, and it crosses ideological boundaries. The monthly bulletin of the International Press Institute is a catalogue of events in both small and large nations that reveal a deep hostility to the unfettered communication that is the basis of all freedom.

In Hungary, the government has closed the only officially tolerated "underground" book-

shop, confiscating more than 170 titles and raiding the homes of several dissidents. In Guyana, the country's independent and opposition press faces continued harassment through government-instigated libel suits and government refusal to allow the importing of newspapers. In Brazil, three journalists have been imprisoned.

In Nepal, a new law tightens controls on journalists, and provides for expulsion or jail for violations. In the Indian state of Bihar, a proposed law would jail journalists for "scurrilous" writing.

Wherever censorship exists, it must be fought. When anyone's voice is stifled, whether that voice is raised in a powerful nation or in a tiny state, all voices are threatened, and all freedom is diminished.

—The Los Angeles Times.

### On Anti-Americanism

The foreign secretary, Mr. Francis Pym, has delivered a timely warning against the dangers of the current fashion for anti-Americanism. It appears that a great many people in Britain and Europe have forgotten the extent to which the United States underwrites our security and, by bearing a burden within NATO that is disproportionately heavy, enables her allies to devote more resources to nonmilitary spending than they could have.

Nor should we pretend that America needs Europe as much as we need America. A go-it-alone Fortress America would be perfectly viable and secure, whereas a Europe which had been deserted by American ground forces and the assurance of the U.S. nuclear arsenal would soon be forced into odious accommodation with the Soviet Union.

—The Daily Telegraph (London).

## FROM OUR FEB. 17 PAGES, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1908: Sicilians a Hit in London

LONDON — From what in advance looked to be a very doubtful theatrical venture, the performances of the Sicilian peasant players have become the rage of London. The Shaftesbury Theatre is filled every night with as fashionable an audience as you can find. The Sicilians have apparently become a habit. I notice the same faces in the audience night after night — not the nervous, high-strung faces of the Latin people, but the stolid, impassive countenances of those who are English born and bred. The crude, rude, rough acting seems to fascinate the cold-blooded Britons. These swarthy-faced actors have given the old fogey devotees of theatrical art-n-jolt they will not get over in a hurry.

### 1933: Mrs. Roosevelt's Reaction

NEW YORK — Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt displayed remarkable calm and fortitude during the interval between the time of the first report of the attempt on her husband's life and the assurance of his safety, given by Mr. Roosevelt himself in a telephone conversation shortly after the shooting. "It's great news," she cried when she heard of her husband's escape. She left at once for Grand Central Station to take a train for Ithaca, New York, where she spoke at Cornell University. "If you are to public life these things happen," she said before taking the train. "If they want to get you they can, and so the only thing to do is just to go along and not think of such things any more than you have to."

## White-Bread Answers for a No-Bread Crisis

By George F. Will

WASHINGTON — Rejoice! Economic recovery is at hand: Norman Mailer and Sophia Loren have put their pretty heads together in Paris at a conference of intellectuals — a term broadly defined, obviously.

The conference was paid for by Francois Mitterrand's Socialist government. It thinks writers and movie stars should help solve the world economic crisis. "Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, so is an economic crisis too important to be left to the economists or the 'practical men,'" said John Kenneth Galbraith, who is not guilty of belonging to either group.

Kate ("Sexual Politics") Millett did her number, complaining about the "severe lack of representation of women." She is a writer who is not picky about the meaning of words: Her complaint was, presumably, about insufficient representation, not "lack of representation." Melina Mercouri was there. (She is minister of culture for the Greek Socialist government.) Sophia Loren was there. And so, of course, was Susan Sontag, whose economic theories have, in the past, been, well, vigorous. "America is a cancerous society," she wrote, "with a runaway rate of productivity which inun-

dates the country with increasingly unnecessary commodities." The Sontagian definition of "necessary" is obscure. But Miss Sontag's books are, presumably, necessary commodities, as is the theory she espouses concerning commodities and conduct. "It is self-evident that the Reader's Digest and Lawrence Welk and Hilton Hotels are organically connected with the Special Forces napalming villages in Guatemala."

Her theory resembles Mr. Mailer's justly famous White Bread Theory of History. White bread, he said, is the "embodiment" of, among other things, "corporation land which took the taste and crust out of bread and wrapped the remains in wax paper and was, at the far extension of this same process, the same mentality which was out in Asia escalating, deflating, ... White bread was also television."

It probably was this ability to see the big picture that caused President Mitterrand to seek Mr. Mailer's counsel. That, and the fact that Mr. Mailer shares Mr. Mitterrand's enthusiasm for things Third World. In the history of literature, there is no love as affecting as that

which Mr. Mailer felt for Fidel Castro 20 years ago. "It was," Mr. Mailer once wrote of Mr. Castro, "as if the ghost of Cortez had appeared in our century riding Zapata's white horse."

Peter Ustinov enjoyed the conference. "Governments of the left are always much better at this sort of thing because they give the appearance at least of wanting to learn, while governments of the right want only to teach." Actually, governments of the left are careful to seem to want people like Mr. Ustinov to teach. One thing that made Miss Sontag limp with Mailer-like admiration for Mr. Castro's police state was the fact that "intellectuals in a revolutionary society must have a pedagogical function." Yes, "must" — intellectuals who do not accept their function go to jail. But the likes of Miss Sontag go back to Manhattan, content to praise totalitarian pedagogy from afar.

The conference was organized by France's anti-American minister of culture, Jack Lang. Miss Sontag said that the United States does not have a minister of culture — except that if we did, she says, the minister might be Clint Eastwood. To that

case, Americans would never be raised to the Cuban level of joy. "The Cubans know a lot," she once wrote, "about spontaneity, gaiety, sensuality and freckling-out. They are not linear, desiccated creatures of print culture." There is nothing like a steady diet of communist print, edited by a minister of culture, to cure linear tendencies.

And what good came of it all? "Well," said Mr. Galbraith (perhaps seriously, perhaps not; I do not know how to tell when Mr. Galbraith and Mr. Mailer are being serious), "I found Norman Mailer's proposal for a tax on plastics very interesting." Besides, Mr. Galbraith said, "Only a journalist would ask if this was actually useful."

Utility is a concept important to economists, but it would be tacky to allow utilitarian considerations to spoil the fun of living well on other people's money. French taxpayers paid the bill the government incurred renting these intellectuals.

Mr. Mitterrand's policies are failing, so he wants to change the subject. Cultural posturing suits the timeless French vanity and today's French austerity. Even after a decade of inflation, intellectuals come cheap.

The Washington Post.

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هكمان النحل

Camp of Rebels  
Cambodia May Be  
Next Target

Nurses in Poll  
Hardcore to the D

Bar  
PURE  
MA  
12 year old highland  
limited quantity  
Produced by John W. ...



# Major Camp of Rebels In Cambodia May Be Hanoi's Next Target

By William Branigan

Washington Post Service

BANGKOK — Vietnamese forces have withdrawn from a Cambodian resistance base they overran two weeks ago at the Thai-Cambodian border and are moving northward into position for a possible assault on the headquarters of the main noncommunist guerrilla group battling the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia, according to Western and Thai diplomatic and intelligence sources.

The withdrawal Thursday from a camp run by the noncommunist Khmer People's National Liberation Front opposite the Thai border village of Nong Chan came as Cambodian peasants, conscripted by the Vietnamese, completed a key stretch of a new "strategic barricade" being built inside Cambodia parallel to the volatile border, the sources said.

Diplomats said one reason for taking the camp, which they stormed Jan. 31, might have been to protect construction of the barricade.

The onslaught forced 30,000 Cambodian refugees living at the camp to flee into Thailand, where Thai authorities stopped them for several days in a battle zone near the border before allowing them to move to a new camp in a safer area.

The attack on the camp exemplified an apparent change in Vietnamese strategy, Western diplomats said. Vietnamese forces have mounted dry-season offensives against "Cambodian" resistance groups along the western border for the last four years since invading Cambodia and deposing the Khmer Rouge government in January 1979.

Unlike last year, the Vietnamese so far have refrained from mounting a large-scale sustained offensive. Instead they have carried out selective strikes and have concentrated on the weaker, noncommunist resistance groups instead of trying to wipe out the 30,000 to 40,000 hardened guerrillas of the Khmer Rouge.

The Western and Thai intelligence sources believe a likely target of the estimated 3,000 Vietnamese troops that overran the Nong Chan camp is a camp opposite Ban Sang containing the military headquarters and some training facilities of the Khmer People's National Liberation Front, which is led by

a former Cambodian prime minister, Son Sann.

Other potential targets are a Khmer Rouge camp at Phnom Chat and one to the north run by the faction of the former Cambodian head of state, Prince Norodom Sihanouk. Prince Sihanouk and Mr. Son Sann hold the posts of president and prime minister respectively in a loose coalition with the Khmer Rouge.

Another possible Vietnamese target is a sprawling National Liberation Front camp opposite the Thai border village of Nong Samet. About 50,000 Cambodian refugees live there, and living in their midst until recently were 1,890 Vietnamese refugees crammed into a detention camp.

Thai authorities recently closed the camp after allowing U.S. and other Western immigration officials to process the Vietnamese for resettlement abroad. After the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service came under criticism for turning down many applicants, including some with close relatives in the United States, it reconsidered a number of cases and ended up taking 1,100 refugees, or 82 percent of the applicants.

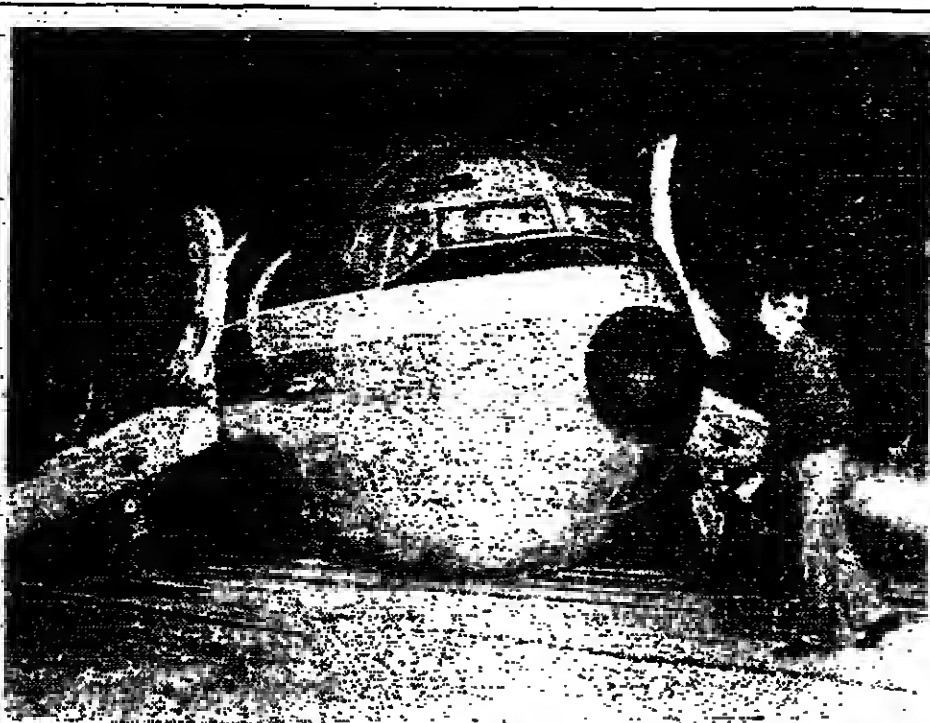
Other countries took nearly 700 of the so-called "land people," who made a hazardous ocean trip across Cambodia to reach the Thai border, and 95 young single males rejected by all the resettlement countries were moved to Thailand's Khao-I-Dang refugee camp.

Western diplomatic sources confirmed that the Vietnamese early this month started building a barricade consisting of a dike with a road on the eastern side and a spiked ditch 20 feet (six meters) wide and 10 feet deep on the western side.

An official of the Vietnamese-installed Cambodian government has described it as an anti-tank ditch designed to stop both resistance forces and the Thai Army.

But one Western diplomat said: "It's for a variety of purposes, not the least of which is to keep people in." He said 60,000 conscripted Cambodians were working on the barricade and have completed a stretch of five to six kilometers (three to three and a half miles).

According to a journalist who visited the Cambodian city of Siem Reap recently, a Cambodian district official said the barricade would run 32 kilometers.



BELLY LANDING — An Eastern Airlines Boeing 727 carrying 74 persons made a spectacular belly landing amid a storm of sparks at Miami airport Tuesday night after having problems with its landing gear. Six passengers received minor injuries.

## Anti-Government Student March In Bangladesh Stopped by Police

Reuters

DHAKA, Bangladesh — Students tried Wednesday to hold an anti-government demonstration in Bangladesh's southern port city of Chittagong, but police stopped them. It was the third day of clashes in Bangladesh between police and students; five persons have died.

Witnesses said police stopped students in Chittagong trying to march in support of protesters in Dhaka, which was put under a curfew on Monday after fierce clashes. They said that Chittagong, where two persons were reported killed in clashes Tuesday, also observed a partial strike. But there were no reports of any serious incidents.

On Tuesday, troops in Dhaka detained 30 politicians, leaders of an 18-party alliance, for holding a meeting in defiance of martial law regulations, official sources said. Four hundred students have been held since Monday.

Among the politicians detained at the Dhaka residence of a former foreign minister, Kamal Hossain, was Hasina Wazed, the official sources said. She is the daughter of the assassinated president, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and is the leader of his Awami League party.

The government has said it will strictly enforce a martial law ban on political meetings, demonstrations, and strikes. The warning seemed to have had its effect. Residents of Dhaka largely ignored a general strike called Tuesday by the students and supported by the political alliance.

In Dhaka, the night curfew has been shortened by four hours in

what was seen as an indication that authorities were now in control of the situation. Most of the troops who moved into the city on Tuesday were withdrawn and replaced by police.

The violence started Monday when students at Dhaka University protested the introduction of compulsory courses in Arabic and English. Police broke up the demonstration, but five persons were killed and more than 100 injured in violence that followed in Dhaka and other cities. Dhaka University and all other educational institutions in the city were ordered closed until Feb. 27.

The political alliance has been

urging Lieutenant General Hussain Mohammad Ershad, who seized power in a military coup last March, to return power to a civilian administration.

Political analysts said Wednesday that General Ershad might soon begin talks with politicians to examine prospects for a national government that would lead to a return to democratic rule.

A former president of Bangladesh, Khondakar Moshtaq Ahmed, of the rightist Democratic League, renewed his call Wednesday for a return to civilian rule. "This is the national consensus. This is the only way to overcome the crisis," he said.

## Waldeck Rochet Dies At 77; Led French Left

New York Times Service

PARIS — Waldeck Rochet, 77, the French Communist leader from 1964 to 1972 and the architect of a policy of greater independence from the Soviet Union, has died after a long illness, party officials said.

Since 1970 until his death Tuesday, he had been in near-seclusion, delegating his power to Georges Marchais, who took over formally as the secretary-general in 1972.

Under Mr. Rochet, the French party had about 500,000 members, making it the second-largest Communist Party in the West, after Italy's.

Mr. Rochet, who was balding, thickset, and had a heavy Burgundian accent, was the personification of the French peasant. He shrewdly cultivated this image, inspiring confidence and votes from France's agricultural population.

Born in St.-Croix, near Lyons, Mr. Rochet was the son of a shoemaker and became a vegetable farmer during his teens. He joined the party in 1924, organizing farm workers in the Lyons region. In 1931, the party sent him to study for two years at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow.

After his return, he won a seat in the National Assembly in 1936. Loyal to Moscow, he refused to condemn the Soviet-German non-aggression pact concluded in August 1939, just before the Germans attacked Poland at the start of World War II. With France's entry into the war, this was considered an act of treason, and Mr. Rochet, along with other party officials, was sent to prison in Algeria.

On his release in 1942, Mr. Rochet joined the French underground in Algeria and, the following year, went to London as the party's liaison with de Gaulle's Free French forces.

After the war, Mr. Rochet became a member of the Politburo in 1950, a party secretary in 1959, and two years later the deputy general secretary.

On becoming party chief in

1964, Mr. Rochet promptly sought closer arrangements with other left groups. In 1965 he formed a coalition with the Socialists to back Francois Mitterrand for president.

In a display of independence from Moscow, Mr. Rochet surprised the world in August 1968 when the French party denounced the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia. Just one month earlier, he had acted as go-between, shuttling between Prague and Moscow in an attempt to reconcile the Kremlin and Alexander Dubcek, the liberal Czechoslovak Communist Party leader.

Mr. Rochet had a kidney operation in Moscow in June 1969 after a party conference and retired from politics shortly thereafter, tending his garden in Nanterre, a working-class suburb of Paris. He was the author of several books on agriculture.

■ Other deaths:

Kenneth F. Trimmingham, 96, an international yachtsman and clothing-firm heir who helped develop Bermuda into a leading tourist area, Feb. 2 in Bermuda.



Waldeck Rochet

Michael Cefola, 74, one of the original members of the Manhattan Project team that developed the atomic bomb, Saturday in Hawthorne, New York.

Marian Nixon, 78, who played the title role in "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm" in 1932, Sunday in Los Angeles.

## Relief Official Fears Thousands Could Die in Ethiopian Drought

Reuters

NAIROBI — Tens of thousands of people could die and more than three million are threatened with food shortages in Ethiopia's worst drought in 10 years, a senior aid worker said Wednesday.

Mark Bowden, regional adviser of the Save the Children Fund, said in an interview after he visited Ethiopia that the situation was reminiscent of a drought there in the early 1970s in which more than 200,000 people died.

The fund is working closely with the Ethiopian Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, which said Tuesday that the drought is as severe as the one in 1974.

Mr. Bowden said the most seriously affected areas were the rugged regions of Wallo, Tigre and Gondar, north of Addis Ababa. He said emergency aid was arriving. The British government is contributing £100,000 (about \$154,000) and the Save the Children Fund is to spend the same amount, he added.

The money is to be spent largely on renovating relief centers, supplementary food for children and transportation. "At the moment there is no firewood in the relief centers so the people are burning sorghum stalks," he said. "The lack of cooking facilities means that all they can do with wheat aid is roast it."

## 9% of Nurses in Poll Gave An Overdose to the Dying

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — One in 11 nurses responding to a non-scientific survey said they had intentionally given overdoses of narcotics to dying patients, according to the current issue of Nursing Life magazine.

In its July-August issue last year, the magazine published 85 questions dealing with ethical dilemmas nurses may face. Of the magazine's approximately 165,000 readers, 5,085 responded.

Among the questions asked was: "Have you or anyone you know ever deliberately given an overdose of a narcotic to a dying patient with intractable pain?"

Eight percent of the 5,085 respondents said they had done so and would do so again. One percent said they had and would not do so again.

Sixty-one percent said they had not and never would administer such a dose, and 30 percent said they had not done so but might, under some circumstances.

Nancy Perrin, spokeswoman for the American Nurse's Association, said Tuesday that she hoped that the figures would not lead to the belief that nine of every 100 nurses were administering lethal injections of narcotics to patients.

"This is an opinion survey and not a scientific survey," she said, adding that in most such cases nurses may have been ordered by doctors to administer the narcotics

although the dose was abnormally high.

The sampling is not a random, scientifically valid poll such as those by professional polling organizations, said Maryanne Wagner, associate publisher of Nursing Life. But she said she believed the large number of responses made the results statistically valid to some degree.

Almost all of the magazine's readers are nurses, and almost half of them work in supervisory positions, she said.

The survey also asked whether nurses, believing a doctor to be incompetent, would inform patients, if asked. About 33 percent of respondents said they would not.

Sixty-five percent said they would tell patients that, if messy, they could change doctors. Only 1 percent said they would reveal their beliefs about a doctor's competence.

The survey explored other questions about tensions between doctors and nurses regarding methods of treatment and found that, compared with respondents in a similar nursing magazine survey in 1974, nurses are more assertive, especially those newer to the profession.

Nurses are more willing to refuse or question doctors' orders than they were 10 years ago, according to the new survey. They also are more likely to tell review boards about errors they see doctors make.

## Court Lets N.Y. Enforce Jews' Marriage Pacts

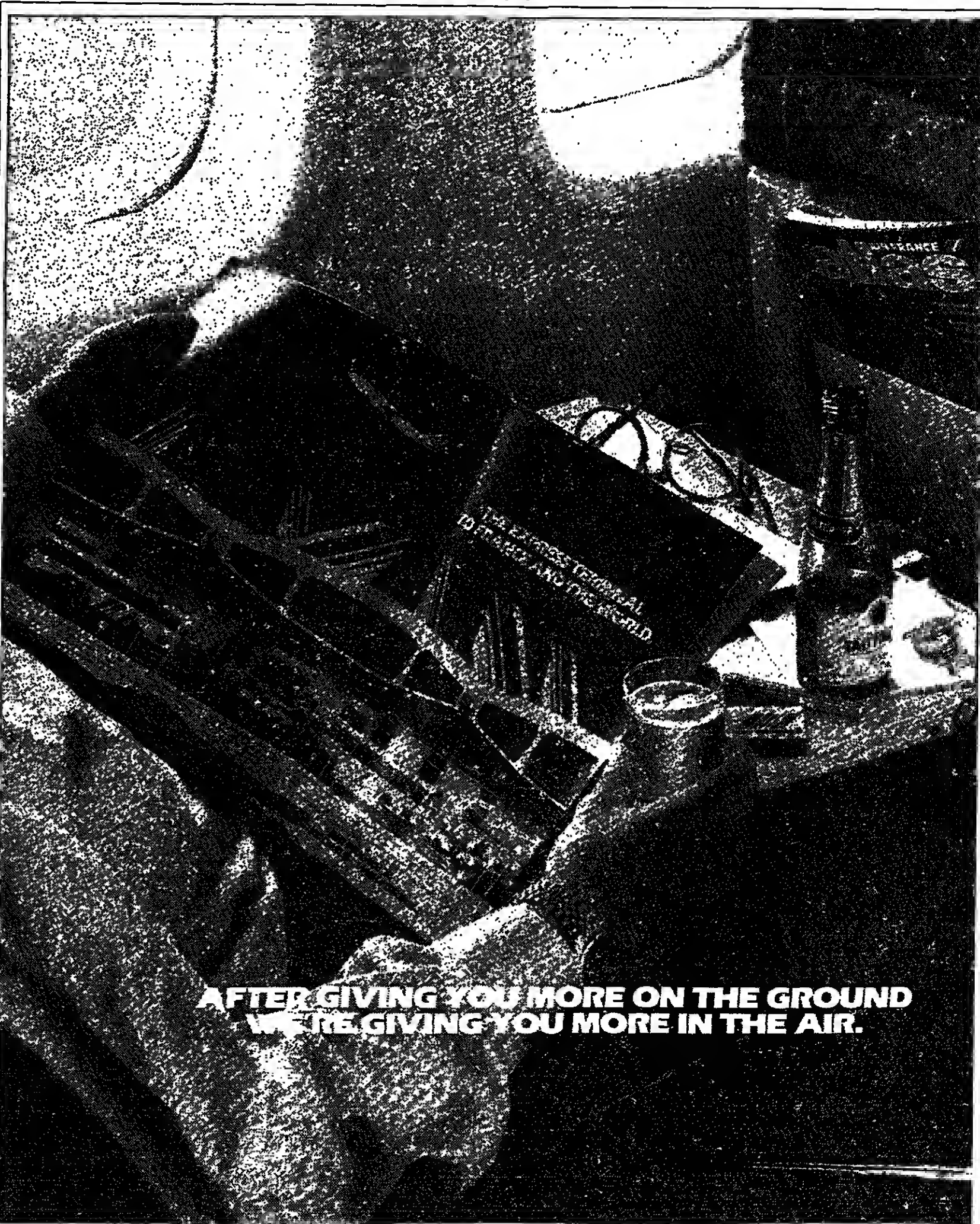
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Jewish marriage contracts that require spouses to obtain divorces from special religious panels may be enforced by state courts, the New York State Court of Appeals has ruled.

The court, the state's highest, ruled 4-3 Tuesday that the marriage contracts, or *ketubot*, which are signed by Orthodox and Conservative Jews, are binding civil contracts as well as religious covenants. As such, the court held, the contracts can be enforced without entangling the state excessively in religious affairs.

In recent years, Jewish spouses have effectively prevented their mates from obtaining Jewish divorces. The spouses can do so by failing to appear before a special panel, known as a *beth din*.

Without such a Jewish divorce, Jews are unable to remarry within the Orthodox and Conservative branches of the faith, even though they have obtained civil divorces.



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## STYLE

## The Long and Short of Spring Fashions

By Tish Jett

International Herald Tribune

Is the skirt three inches shorter this year? Will you have to lose five pounds from each thigh in order to wear it? Are the requisite heels sky-high or low to the ground? Is a dress better than a suit, and do you belt it all in—at the waist, hipbone, derriere, or let the fabric flow?

Not serious quandaries these, but nonetheless pesky little problems that present themselves at least twice a year—and for those more devoted to fashion's foibles some five times annually—when one is committed to owning the latest and the greatest for not only spring and fall, but also holiday, resort and summer.

If anyone knows the answers to these questions, it is the designers who are in the business of changing the looks and thus constantly reviving that smoldering desire to be au courant.

For the up-to-the-minute twists and turns on spring 1983, designers from Milan, Paris, New York, Rome and London answered these three questions:

What is your favorite total look? What do you consider the single best buy? And, what is the most important styling touch, the "freebies," that is, where do you wear your belt, do you roll your sleeves, turn up your collar, wear your pearls as a headband, etc.?

London designer Zandra Rhodes likes ample dresses that "give women the free choice to belt or not to belt. As a single item I think a tunic in a large print that sort of bangs and slides in various asymmetrical ways over a close-fitting dress is wonderful," she said. "The easiest touch that anyone can do is to take a piece of fabric or fringed suede and wrap it around your hips."

In Paris, Kenzo agrees with the wrapped hip concept and likes to see the body draped in fabric even when the skirt is part of a suit (as in his sketch) with a classic jacket. "Furthermore, anyone can take a piece of fabric, wrap it pareu style and belt it," he said.

Emanuel Ungaro prefers to see women in his signature print dresses, mostly cut with a soft, draped effect and falling just around the knee, with either a wool spencer jacket or vest in a bright color "like yellow, purple, green or turquoise," he said. And again, he too, prefers the old sash, but the important difference for him: "It wraps the waist."

From New York, Bill Blass maintains that the suit is crucial for spring. "Fitted, shaped and tailored



Kenzo's softly draped skirt with a classic jacket, Calvin Klein's slimly elegant suit and Carla Fendi's bare vest look.

to the body with a slim skirt and very fitted jacket." A special item, which many women may already have in their wardrobes, he said, "is a vest. I like a pinstripe suit with, say, a coordinated plaid lapel and a third fabric for the vest. Unquestionably the most significant detail of the season is tailored, precisely fitted suits."

Perry Ellis has a softer approach to spring, preferring long, full

skirts. "They are the longest I've ever designed, with a wide belt and short jacket that stops at the waist and I like to see this type of suit with high platform espadrilles. The one thing to own now that will make all the difference is a wide, from five to six inch, belt. It goes over skirts, jackets and changes the mood of everything," he said.

Calvin Klein is into total elegance with ultra-slim skirts and

short, cropped jackets of another fabric. He too belts his waists high and wide and frames the face with soft-lined collars held in place with tightly bowed ribbons.

Rome's Carla Fendi says crisp white is the only color of importance this year. "A light cotton piece suit with pants topped by either a long blazer or a short dinner jacket is the freshest way to dress," she said. "The best find of the

moment is a waistcoat and the most interesting way to wear it is bare under a jacket. It's different, young and sexy."

Luciano Soprani, who works out of Milan, believes no one should be without a classic "motoring coat," about mid-calf and preferably worn as a modern costume over a blouse, jacket and either pants or a skirt. Soprani is so enamored of this coat that he sees it as the look, item and single styling detail for spring. "You can even wear it in white linen as a beach cover over a maillot," he added.

At Basile, it is the coat suit with an elongated torso and emphasis on the hip, with the most important ingredient "the delicate blouse in silk or linen with short floral appliques of organza." Here the belt takes on yet another variation, double-wrapped at the waist and about one inch wide.

If confusion still reigns, consider this: With so many choices, it's almost impossible not to be a la mode.

Contributions by Lesley Nonkin.

## Air Fresheners Are Now 'Environmental Fragrances'

By Geri Brin

International Herald Tribune

Recently Francoise de la Renta and Barbara Streisand and the television news commentator John Chancellor were spotted sniffing around the Sentiments shop in New York City's chic-chic Fifth Avenue. But the rich and the famous are only the vanguard of those captivated by environmental fragrances, the new perfumes for the home.

"We've powdered, pampered and perfumed our bodies. Now it's time for the home," says Larry Laslo, a designer whose extensive line of fragrances reaps some \$6 million a year and is offered in shops such as New York's Saks Fifth Ave. and Tokyo's Hanae Mori boutique.

"People have become more interested in creating a total environment at home and fragrances are the finishing touches. They complete the setting," says Diane Love, a British home furnishings designer who is "intrigued by a room that appeals to all the senses."

Environmental fragrances, while especially popular today, have been around at least since the 1940s, when the French country gentleman, Mario Rigaud, invented his scented candle. The Rigaud, created with a special formula non-paraffin soft wax and a quality perfume oil, burns in some distinguished homes. There are four Rigaud scents and everyone has his or her favorite. The interior decorator, Mario Buatta loves the blue Chevreuil Rigaud with its honey-suckle smell; the fashion doyenne Diana Vreeland, Bendel's president, Geraldine Stutz, and Lee Radziwill like the green, woody scented Cypress. Rigaud sells over 500,000 candles every year, produces room sprays and potpourri and will soon be making sachets. Its large candle is priced at a heady \$47 in the United States.

The number of fragrances and the ways to use them proliferate annually. Laslo says his scents suit any mood, personality and lifestyle. He recommends a lilac for a romantic and feminine scent; or a rose, spice and cinnamon mixture for those who prefer earthier aromas.

Sprays accomplish the job fastest and are useful for refreshing restricted areas like linen closets. Loose potpourri in antique bowls and baskets is lovely all over the house and permits a gentle level of fragrance. Candles provide more intense fragrance, while emitting soft light. Fabric sachets can be tucked in lingerie drawers or placed on bedside tables in guest rooms. And pomanders work wonderfully in the bathroom as well as in armchairs.

Charles of the Ritz has announced it will introduce a "revolutionary" environmental fragrance diffusion system this fall, but declined to give details beyond promising it will "disseminate aroma on a continuous, controllable basis without distortion." The company has hired fashion designer Giorgio Sant'Angelo to give it his imprimatur.

Klein maintains that scents that make you feel comfortable may even help you perform better. "A pleasant aroma introduced into a conference room could help close a big business deal," he said, "and a home with fragrance allows for more complete sensual experience."

Bendel's Stutz, one of the world's first retailers to open a scents boutique, favors Agraria potpourri and has it sitting in bowls throughout her office. Developed and hand-blended by two men in San Francisco, it comes in three scents, including bitter orange, a mélange of roses, spice, and sweet Spanish orange spiked with cinnamon. Other Agraria fans are the Agnellis, Lena Horne and Hubert de Givenchy.

"There is such a thing as using too much scent, like too much perfume," Love cautions. "No one likes the woman who exists an elevator leaving behind her own aroma." She also advises against using home fragrances that were originally developed as women's perfumes. "A man who likes a fragrance on his wife may not like it in his home."

Above all, Love believes, a fragrance for the home must smell fresh and clean. "It must be an aroma everyone—including children—can enjoy." Her "Garden After the Rain" fragrance, which she says "conveys a general sense of freshness" is a favorite of Ali MacGraw, Candice Bergen, Pat Buckley and Jerry Zippin.

Those faithful to Rigaud believe the candles' special scents, not fancy containers, are enough to make impressions and set moods. But people including Laslo, Love, Esteé Lauder and many others "romance" their potpourri, sprays, sachets and candles by putting them

## Tips on Using Home Scents

It's easy to buy a candle, a box of potpourri or a sachet and put them on tables and inside drawers. Home fragrances, treated creatively, can be a special treat.

•Stash big sachets behind sofa pillows so that when guests sit down, the sachets will release their fragrances.

•Help potpourri last longer by keeping it covered until an hour before guests arrive. It can last forever if refreshed with fragrance oil.

•Float a small scented candle and fresh flowers in an attractive bowl half filled with water. The look of the flowers, the reflection of the flame in the water and the fragrance will be delightful.

•Lightly spray room aromatics on sheets and towels.

•Cluster scented candles in different sizes and colors.

•Put bulk potpourri in glass containers. Potpourri is made for the bathroom because moist, warm air permeates it and makes it more vibrant.

•Mix two or three different scented candles in one room—unique scent in each corner.

•For the timid, Larry Laslo says, "Place scented burning sticks upright in a handpainted bowl filled with sand."

•Or, as real estate agents have been known to recommend to the clients when they show homes, prospective buyers, "balls" based on scents, will be more likely to evoke the feeling of a warm, welcoming home.



Rigaud's Candle.

the French fragrance house, is less paranoid on the subject of new products, noting that Guerlain plans to market three candles in October. The fragrances will include: peony, lily of the valley and sandalwood. He stressed he had not considered using any of the house's famous perfumes as scents for the home. "Not only is it quite impossible to reformulate our perfumes decently for such products, but I believe fragrances for the home or office should be more like a bouquet of flowers. They must never compete with the perfume worn by the hostess," he said.

Whatever the system, environmental fragrances are wafting into every corner of the home and even office as a way to give visitors positive initial reactions to their surroundings. "Before you see something, in a home, you smell it," Love says. "If apple pie is baking in the oven, that's the first thing you notice."

According to Stephan Marc Klein, an environmental psychologist, the sense of smell is emotionally charged, "and like colors it elicits different reactions."

Jane Spivak, a psychotherapist, says "aromas can reduce or intensify anxiety and evoke memories," although they are hard to define and difficult to remember once you leave them. "The smell of a particular bush might remind you of childhood and summer camp," she said.

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in everything from frosted glass ginger jars to cut crystal containers. A new Laslo perfume line that will be available in June is made of bone china decorated with gold.

"This business is split into two areas," says a Rigaud spokesman. "Those who think packaging is important and those who think fragrance is important."

Portmanteau, another name in home fragrances, is popular in Europe but not quite a hit in the United States. Run by Nadine de Rothschild, wife of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the company offers a complete range of products—candles to lingerie bags—in floral, citrus and woody fragrances.

Manuel Canovas believes fragrances create "mysterious affinities and understated harmonies." He has been in the environmental fragrance business about 10 months and finds it a natural complement to his luxe bed and bath collection of fabrics, rugs and linens. His product line includes candles, a room spray and an oil burner on light bulbs.

Diana Vreeland adores Guerlain's "Plantes Marines" (which the company no longer produces). She is uncomplicated about why she thinks home fragrances are so hot. "They smell good," she says.

## Elegant Artifice

By Patti Barron

International Herald Tribune

The look, the lifestyle for 1983 (for those who have been fortunate enough to catch a glimpse of the grand style. Which means that now your sweatshirts are relegated to the back of the wardrobe, you need to blot off the lipgloss and wipe off that, ugh, healthy glow.

For in this newly elegant era, the fragile, tastefully tubercular face with lively amendments—right? (Think "La Dame aux Camélias," not "Charlie's Angels.") Like the crisp contour clothes it complements, there's nothing easy or minimal about it. It flows like the river and is as strong as the mountains. "Elegant" is more of a feeling, a mood, a state of mind, a way of life, a way of thinking, a way of feeling, a way of being. It's a way of being elegant.

"Elegant creatures look as if they eat through osmosis," states Anthony Calvert, favored makeup artist of the queen of Jordan, Eira Lauder and David Bowie. (He's managed to make Catherine Deneuve look more elegant than ever in her latest film, "The Hunger.") There is never a touch of grease, only a controlled glow.

The effect is powdered without being matte, like a magnolia. Elegance is a balance of proportions. You make everything elongated so it flows like the river and is as strong as the mountains. "Elegant" is more of a feeling, a mood, a state of mind, a way of life, a way of thinking, a way of feeling, a way of being. It's a way of being elegant.

For color specifics: "Use a hot tone over a cold tone, or vice versa. Blush cheekbones pink and highlight with periwinkle; splash bluish pink with unexpected tangerine around the eyes. Touch gray with charcoal; smoky mascara with turquoise under the eye. You should have more color on the lips than on the face. Color on the lips with violet highlights." "I like the intellectual elegant face," says Alberto Fava, a makeup artist who's worked on such witty beauties as Nastassia Kinski and Candice Bergen. "I can't find a foundation that's pale enough. Cheeks are secondary; the emphasis is on eyes and mouth. Use tones of purple from pale metallics in dark matte silvery shades. On the eyelids, I use gray with purple over it for a strange effect; gray smudged over black pencil liner near the lashes, and a touch of gold in the center of the lid. A pale, pale blue on the brow. Each color is blended into the next."

Forget braids, chignons and conventionally elegant hair trappings. Chic hair is softly layered to cascade love, insist two New York hair innovators, Harry King and Nick Paige. "Squared off, short and sleek," says Paige, "softly layered to enhance the cheek and jawbone; subtle highlights on honey blonde emphasize shine. It's back to blowdrying."

Short with back and sides," advises King, "with longer lengths on top and temples. Use a liquid setting lotion to keep hair straight to the sides of the head. It's what you'd call a look."

## New Or Used, These Leathers Look Abused



"Distressed" leather jackets on the streets of Paris.



Charles Gots

By Hebe Dorsey  
International Herald Tribune  
PARIS — "Distressed leather" or *cuir vieilli* as the French call it, is the latest fashion to hit Paris streets.

Like so many street fashions, it is an offshoot of the flea market. The scenario is familiar. Paris youth goes to the flea market and discovers an American fleeceline bomber's jacket, which is warm, comfortable and cheap. Before you know it, other kids like it too. The demand becomes bigger than the supply. Smart leather brokers and manufacturers get into the act and start flooding the market with heat-up, stone-washed leather that looks as good as old.

Now everybody is into *cuir vieilli* blousons, from a Dior delivery boy (his came from the flea market and cost 900 francs, or about \$125) to Princess Stephanie of Monaco, who gave it the royal accolade last

week in the first official pictures since the death of Princess Grace. Her brother was wearing leather too, but his was the regular, smooth kind.

At Paris fashion shows, you see similar blousons worn by photographers, Japanese as well as French. One of them spent a small fortune, half a million lire (about \$1200), at some chic Milan boutique. His mother, who was at least as distressed as his blouson, had the typical "why-pay-so-much-for-something-that-looks-old-and-beat-up?" bourgeois reaction.

In Paris, professional leather brokers have been into distressed leather for two years. They credit Charles Cheignon for having started it all. Cheignon is the name of a three-year-old manufacturing company headed by Guy Azoulay, 25. According to his sister, Nicole, Azoulay is a surpluss-freak and always wears vintage British or American uniforms. He also designs a collection inspired from that look and launched his own version of *cuir vieilli* when he discovered that the flea market was running out of the real thing. It was an instant hit.

Pierre Santenac, a 25-year-old architecture student, had a more

practical reason for choosing his. "I do a lot of motorcycling," he said. "It ruins your clothes, especially leather. Besides," he added, "it's in fashion now." His blouson came from a Saint-Germain-des-Près boutique and cost 1,500 francs.

As for Tristan Bouvard, 26, a photographic assistant, he paid 1,100 francs for his at the flea market. "I much prefer it to the new-looking, sleek leather, which I find stiff and formal. This is more relaxed," he said.

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## SCIENCE

## Bone Marrow Transplants Made Easier

By Harold M. Schmeck Jr.

New York Times Service

**NEW YORK**—Eighteen young children who faced almost certain death in infancy are alive and healthy today because of a new technique used in bone marrow transplantation. Photographs of some of the children, all robust, smiling toddlers, can be seen on the wall of a doctor's office at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center here, where the technique was perfected. Only months before their pictures were taken, they were all tragically wasted by infections. For each of them, less than an ounce of transplanted bone marrow made the difference.

The new technique promises to make bone marrow transplants far more available than they have been, for people suffering from a variety of serious and potentially fatal diseases. In the long-range, bone marrow transplants appear to have greater potential for saving lives than transplants of major organs. A report on current work in the field was issued this month by the scientists at Sloan-Kettering.

Marrow transplantation itself is far simpler than heart, kidney and liver transplants. Only a little less than an ounce, when the new technique is employed to purify the marrow. It can be infused as a liquid into a vein. But in terms of biology the problems of bone marrow transplantation are severe.

The children who were treated had all been born with almost total lack of natural immune defenses, a condition called severe combined immunodeficiency. Such children often develop life-threatening illnesses from all kinds of common infections and even from germs that are insignificant to a healthy person. The only cure is a transplantation of bone marrow.

BONE marrow transplantations have been done successfully for more than a decade in children for whom donors were available whose tissue types match those of the recipient. But the children on whom the new technique was tried had no such perfectly matched donors. They received their bone marrow transplants from donors whose tissue was far from being a perfect match with their own.

One of the key problems has been that of preventing life-threatening reactions between the donor marrow and the recipient's body. At first, the problem was solved mainly by limiting transplants to patients for whom there was a perfectly matched donor. The best donor is an identical twin.

Scientists have made great progress in recent years in identifying and classifying human tissue types. It is a problem similar to typing blood, but tissue types are much more complex, and donors for any patient are therefore far more difficult to find.

For almost two-thirds of all potential marrow transplant patients no donor with a suitable tissue type can be found in time. The new technique makes a donor's bone marrow compatible with that of the recipient even if the tissue types differ seriously. The 18 successes, out of 21 attempts, are the total achieved throughout the world with the new technique in treating severely immunodeficient children, according to Dr. Richard I. O'Reilly, a leader of the research team at Sloan-Kettering. His group has done almost half of the transplants. The rest, here and abroad, were by doctors who learned the technique from the team that developed it.

The doctors used bone marrow described by specialists as "half matched." In biological terms this represents a serious disparity. With conventional treatment such mismatches are all doomed.

The new transplants were all done from five months to two years ago. The children remain healthy, have normally active immunity to infection and must be considered cured. The technique that made these successes possible was a way of preparing bone marrow before transplantation so that it does not cause a destructive reaction in the patient who receives it.

In the technical terminology of the field, transplanted tissue is called a graft and the recipient is called the host. The attacks by transplanted marrow on the patient who receives it are therefore called graft-versus-host disease. It is often fatal. Yet Dr. O'Reilly said graft-versus-host disease has simply not been a problem with the new technique. One important problem that does exist is that it makes transplanted bone marrow more difficult to grow properly, sometimes leading to a failure of the transplant.

In an announcement, Sloan-Kettering said five more children suffering from severe immunodeficiency had been treated since the report was prepared and seven with advanced, otherwise untreatable leukemia had also been transplanted aided by the new technique.

All five of the additional immunodeficient children and one with leukemia are considered

cured. Dr. O'Reilly said the center had done eight transplants altogether this series. Five patients are presumed cured and one died. In two cases it is still too early to assess.

The method depends on the knowledge, developed by many scientists over the last 20 years or more, that graft-versus-host disease is produced mainly by the action of just one class of white blood cells, known as T-cells. In the new technique, the bone marrow sample is mixed with a soybean substance, called a lectin, with which mature T-cells clump together on contact. When the treated marrow is placed on a test tube, the aggregates of T-cells and lectin sink to the bottom because they are heavy.

The remaining marrow cells at the top of the test tube will be almost entirely free of mature T-cells. They are given a second purification by mixing them with red blood cells of sheep, which capture any remaining T-cells. After this double purification, the marrow can be transplanted with little or no risk of graft-versus-host disease, the scientists have found.

The doctors of bone marrow for the patients treated at the cancer center here were all close relatives. There are other biological problems in bone marrow transplantation, and close genetic links between donor and recipient are believed to help in solving these problems too.

The field also confronts severe problems of donor supply as well. Dr. E. Donnall Thomas of the University of Washington in Seattle, a pioneer in the field, estimates that it would take a donor panel of 10,000 people to be sure of finding one suitably matched donor for 80 percent of the tissue types to be found among potential transplant patients.

Other methods are also under development at several institutions, including the use of special antibodies, called monoclonal antibodies, to attack mature T-cells. Successful use of this technique has been reported by Dr. Ellis Reinherz of Boston's Dana-Farber Cancer Institute.

SOME experts believe it is unlikely that wider donor procurement alone will ever solve the problem. That is why they are devoting much effort to finding safe, effective ways of using marrow that is less than perfectly matched.

A general problem in bone marrow transplantation is that the patient's own bone marrow must be destroyed for the transplant to be successful and this means that patient will die if the transplant does not succeed. For that reason, such transplants are limited to illnesses in which there is no other hope of cure.

But, if transplantations could be done safely and effectively between unrelated people, experts agree, the use of such transplants could be expanded greatly. Thousands of patients could probably be saved from currently incurable diseases. Many disorders of the blood and immune system might be cured, including cancers such as leukemia, and a broad range of dangerous blood diseases, including sickle cell anemia and thalassemia, also known as Cooley's anemia.



Before marrow can be transplanted, injurious mature T-cells must be removed. So marrow, mixed with soybean lectin... is poured over albumin. The T-cells clump to the lectin and sink to the bottom of the albumin while marrow remains on top.

## Parapsychology: The Ethics of Debunking

By William J. Broad

New York Times Service

**NEW YORK**—A controversy is rippling through the corridors of science over how best to aid the quest for truth in the murky backwater of psychic research.

It was touched off by a hoax in which two teen-agers, working under cover for more than three years at the behest of James Randi, a magician and psychic debunker, fooled researchers at Washington University in St. Louis into believing they had paranormal powers.

The ostensible aim of the hoax was to make researchers rely more on the advice of magicians, a goal advocated by many scientists as a sensible way of avoiding trickery and self-deception. But even critics of parapsychology are now crying foul.

Some scientists say Mr. Randi, during a press conference in January sponsored by Discover magazine, and on a recent NBC television special, "Magic or Miracle," has exaggerated his victory and set back relations between skeptical scientists and those probing the paranormal.

"Randi is hurting the field with his gross exaggerations," says Dr. Marcello Truzzi, a sociologist at Eastern Michigan University and editor of Zetetic Scholar, a journal devoted to skeptical analysis of paranormal claims. "In no way will his project teach psychic researchers a lesson and make them more likely to trust to magicians' advice."

At best, Mr. Randi's hoax is a masterful triumph of the scientific method — as exercised by a magician — over the dabbling of scientists who should be more adept. At worst, it is an example of science victimized by showmanship.

Parapsychologists apply scientific method to the study of such phenomena as telepathy (communication between minds by extrasensory means), precognition (knowing an event before it occurs), psychi-

kinetics (moving objects by mental energy), and ESP (extrasensory perception).

Debunking is as old as parapsychology itself, both tracing their roots to the founding of the British Society for Psychical Research in 1882. Yet Mr. Randi, known professionally as The Amazing Randi, has taken the "calling" to new heights. For nearly four decades he has exposed the legends of alleged psychics and attempted to purge parapsychological research of shoddy methodology. In 1976, he helped found the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal, whose members include such scientists and science writers as Isaac Asimov, Martin Gardner, Carl Sagan and B.F. Skinner.

MR. RANDI, feeling that psychic researchers often came up with weak excuses for failures of their experiments, decided on an experiment of his own. His hypothesis was two: first, that no matter how much money parapsychologists lavished on equipment, they would still get through second, that the researchers, feeling they were too smart to be fooled, would refuse the help of a professional magician.

He saw an opportunity to test his ideas in 1979 when the McDonnell Douglas Corp. donated \$500,000 to Washington University to set up a psychic research laboratory. Dr. Peter R. Phillips, a physicist, was named director. "It was the largest grant for parapsychological research ever," Mr. Randi said.

Project Alpha began in October 1979, when the two teen-age magicians, Steven Shaw and Michael Edwards, presented themselves at the lab as psychics able to bend spoons, keys and other metal objects by the power of concentra-

tion. It ended at Mr. Randi's January press conference in New York. Dr. Phillips was not invited to the coup de grace. "The press conference, revealing of their motives," he said in an interview, "it was solely a search for scientific truth—the experiment would not have been terminated in that way."

"I don't have feelings of resentment," he added. "But of course there are serious ethical questions." Indeed, if Mr. Randi were a psychologist, the hoax might have landed him in hot water. "It sounds like something that would be in our domain," said Dr. David Mills, director of the Ethics Office at the American Psychological Association. "Censure is used by the committee when they feel there is some damage."

At the news conference, Mr. Randi claimed total victory. The well-heeled St. Louis group tested the boy "psychics" and, he asserted, published scientific papers that hailed their powers. The hoax was a success, he said, because the St. Louis group refused his offers to help police the experiments for indications of fraud.

"The worst we can say" about the McDonnell laboratory, Mr. Randi said, "is that they were far too confident of their abilities to detect fraud, and refused outside assistance because those who offered it lacked academic credentials."

Not so, says Dr. Phillips. He admits there was a period in which they thought they saw "extraordinary things" and even gave a talk that was printed in the proceedings of a meeting. But that, he says, is preliminary data and not the formal process by which results are published in a journal for rebuttal or confirmation by other scientists.

Moreover, after preliminary testing, the St. Louis group took up Mr. Randi's offer of assistance by sending him videotapes of the boys for analysis. Dr. Phillips, armed with Mr. Randi's critique, tightened up the experiments so as to exclude the possibility of trickery. As he did so, the "powers" of the boys vanished.

"I found the affair exhilarating because we behaved sensibly," Dr. Phillips said. "We were taken in at the beginning, but we were prepared to change our minds when we tightened the controls and were confronted with new evidence."

The St. Louis researchers also take issue with Mr. Randi's claims as to how much time was expended on the boys. Randi at the press conference called Project Alpha "an arduous four-year-long experiment" but did not mention that the St. Louis group devoted only 120 hours to experiments with his tricksters.

Some scientists question whether Mr. Randi's techniques ultimately do more harm than good toward raising the rigor of paranormal inquiry. Dr. Ray Hyman, a psychologist at Stanford University and a member of the Committee for the Scientific Investigation of Claims of the Paranormal, has argued in scholarly articles that the "hit men" of science throughout history have fostered the evils they hoped to banish.

In a similar way, the hoax may have produced more heat than

light. "The parapsychologists were asking for it, and Randi planned it out very well," says Dr. Hyman. "But it's also true that no major parapsychologists went on record about the kids."

INDEED, even among parapsychologists there is a division of opinion. Dr. Stanley Krippner, president of the Parapsychological Association, wrote to Mr. Randi, calling the hoax a "magnificent experiment which was much needed."

Others view his deeds as an attempt to quash inquiry, especially in light of his Project Beta, whose existence was revealed at the Discover press conference. "If those who were caught in this net will realize their errors and adopt stringent standards of procedure," he said, "Project Beta—which is already under way—will fail."

The revelation of a trap as yet untrapped troubles some parapsychologists. "I think his goal is to stop research in this area," says Dr. Charles Tart, a psychologist at the University of California at Davis. "When I look at Randi's behavior, I see someone with a prior view of the world, a religious view. I have the naive idea that science is meant to keep asking questions, not setting up an orthodoxy to defend."

Mr. Randi takes umbrage at the suggestion that he is out to hinder research. "If Tart thinks I did this to stifle research, he is crazy. I brought this type of research into the 20th century, whereas he is in the woods. What if I had told the kids not to tell? There would be scientific papers all over the place and they would eventually be rich and famous. I think the parapsychologists are lucky we revealed the hoax."

Students in U.S. Lose Their Way In Geography

The Associated Press

CORAL GABLES, Florida — More than half the students couldn't locate Chicago on a map and 42 percent had no idea where to find London.

David Helgren, an assistant professor of geography at the University of Miami, said that when 8.5 percent of his students couldn't even find Miami, it confirmed his worst suspicions — that Americans are lousy at geography.

"The numbers generated were pretty disgusting," Mr. Helgren said. "I gave them a map of the world and said, 'Tell me where this is.' Some of the answers were worse than I thought — 7 percent couldn't get the North Atlantic Ocean."

The test was given on the first day of the semester to students ranging from freshmen to seniors. The university's student body comes from all parts of the nation.

"You can't imagine where some of the places were put," he said. "Cape Town was put at the end of South America rather than Africa."

The students had trouble locating domestic cities, too. 41 percent couldn't find Chicago, he said.

## Dow Jones Averages

	Open	High	Low	Close
30 Ind	1093.73	1103.70	1083.43	1087.43
28 Trn	474.89	482.05	473.24	478.16
15 Uti	124.22	124.82	122.11	124.08
45 Btk	430.22	433.44	425.75	428.40











Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street.

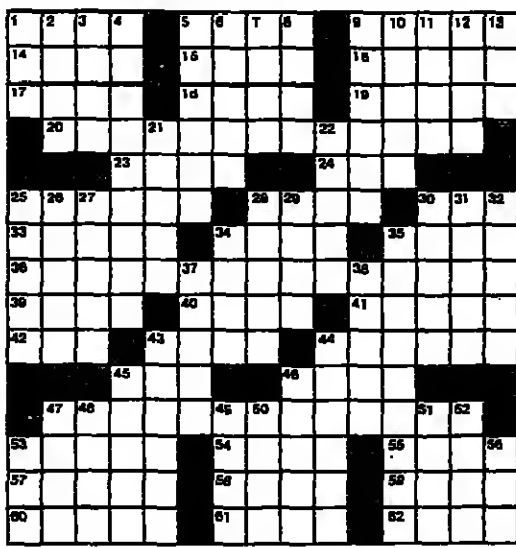
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## CROSSWORD



- ACROSS**
- 1 "Is Your Life?"  
5 Navy men  
9 Asian music source  
14 Supermarket dept.  
15 S-shaped molding  
16 Leading group  
17 Shaker's rains  
18 Hawaiian goose  
19 Harness parts  
20 Calvin Klein's hereditary factors?  
23 He claims to have horse sense  
24 Geller  
25 Of Jungfrau's locale  
28 Toward protection areas  
30 Fairy  
33 Playwright  
34 Half of a famed radio duo  
36 Where Rev. Billy was taught?  
39 Colloquial contraction  
40 Ugandan outcast
- DOWN**
- 1 Grid scores  
2 Arrow part  
3 River at  
4 Remies  
4 Across developments  
5 Dialect  
6 Ten-percenter  
7 Cayman  
8 Forecaster  
9 Globe  
10 Qum native  
11 This is on the watch
- ACROSS**
- 41 Release, as in warring  
42 Tokyo, once  
43 Bovine burdle of rhyme  
44 Certain standardbreds  
45 Biblical mount  
46 Remark from Rover  
47 Horseplay at the gas station?  
54 "Of Eden"  
55 Impoverished  
57 Sinai lawgiver  
58 Malevolent  
59 Awaras of Point of view  
61 Depend (on)  
62 Indigence
- DOWN**
- 12 Summer refreshers  
13 Legal matter  
21 Ancient Greek colony  
22 Speculate  
23 Sea growth  
26 Sensational  
27 Grand worth more than a grand  
28 Without delay  
29 Lost and alone  
30 American naval officer, 1906-55  
31 Love, to Pierre  
32 Cries out, as in pain  
34 Stuff in certain dumps  
35 Investigate  
37 A New Zealand  
38 Mild cigar  
43 Bother  
44 To some degree  
45 Macho types  
46 Garden herb  
47 Decalve  
48 — Major  
49 — do-well  
50 Donated  
51 — other than  
52 Overlove  
53 Logos: Abbr.  
54 Reel's companion

## WEATHER

ALGARVE	12 54 9	41 Fair	LONDON	12 55 9	41 Fair
ALGERIA	12 54 9	41 Fair	LOS ANGELES	12 55 9	41 Fair
AMSTERDAM	8 22 -4	28 Fair	MADRID	12 55 9	41 Fair
ANKARA	8 22 -4	28 Fair	MANILA	12 55 9	41 Fair
ATHENS	15 59 9	48 Cloudy	MEXICO CITY	24 75 5	41 Fair
AUCKLAND	25 77 14	57 Cloudy	MIAMI	24 75 5	41 Fair
BANGKOK	26 80 24	75 Fair	MILAN	12 55 9	41 Fair
BEIJING	8 22 -4	28 Fair	MOSCOW	4 21 -14	7 Fair
BERLIN	16 44 12	55 Cloudy	MUNICH	25 77 15	59 Cloudy
BIRMINGHAM	5 41 -10	30 Fair	NAGASAKI	26 79 12	54 Fair
BOSTON	1 34 -23	19 Fair	NEW ORLEANS	20 68 10	50 Fair
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BUENOS AIRES	24 79 15	59 Fair	PRAGUE	5 41 -10	30 Fair
CAIRO	22 72 14	57 Cloudy	REYKJAVIK	7 45 -11	50 Fair
CAPE TOWN	15 59 9	48 Cloudy	RIO DE JANEIRO	31 88 20	68 Fair
CASABLANCA	15 59 9	48 Cloudy	ROME	10 50 4	39 Cloudy
CHICAGO	5 41 -10	30 Fair	SAO PAULO	29 84 22	72 Fair
COPENHAGEN	4 21 -14	7 Fair	SEATTLE	5 41 -10	30 Fair
COSTA DEL SOL	16 44 12	55 Cloudy	SHANGHAI	10 50 4	39 Cloudy
DAMASCUS	16 44 12	55 Cloudy	SINGAPORE	24 75 5	41 Fair
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GENEVA	2 38 -11	25 Fair	TOKYO	12 55 9	41 Fair
HARARE	21 79 15	59 Fair	TUNIS	15 59 9	48 Fair
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LAS PALMAS	22 72 14	57 Fair			
LIMA	22 72 14	57 Fair			
LISBON	7 45 -11	50 Fair			

Readings from the previous 24 hours.

## ADVERTISEMENT INTERNATIONAL FUNDS

February 16, 1983

The net asset value of some funds whose shares are based on issue prices. The difference between the net asset value and the issue price is the premium or discount. (1) = daily; (2) = weekly; (3) = monthly; (4) = quarterly; (5) = semi-annually; (6) = annually; (7) = variable; (8) = other.

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## PEANUTS



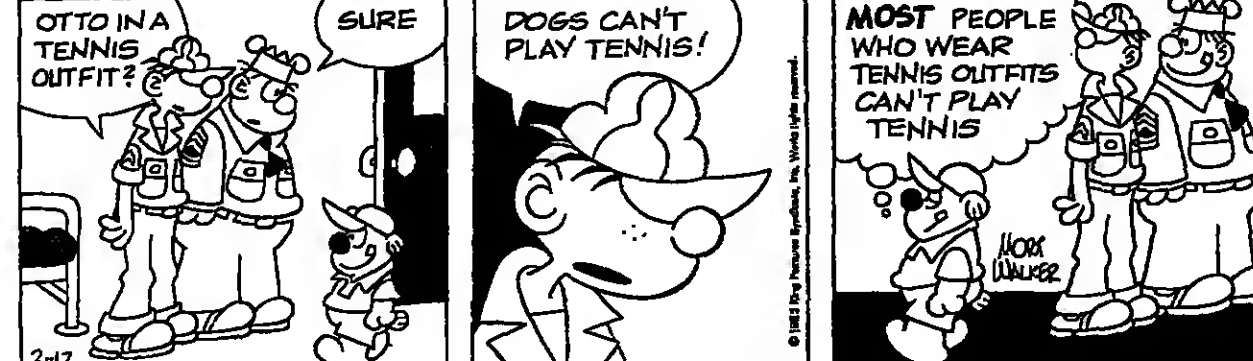
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## BLONDIE



## BEETLE BAILEY



## ANDY CAPP



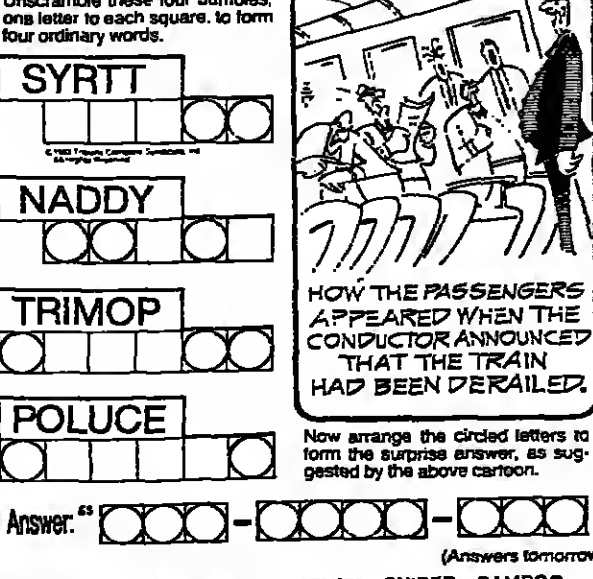
## WIZARD of ID



## REX MORGAN



## JUMBLE



Yesterday's Jumbles: BLESS MONEY GUIDED BAMBOO  
Answer: Gin seldom "provides" sources of wealth—  
"GOLD MINES"

## DENNIS THE MENACE



## BOOKS

## LUCIAN FREUD

By Lawrence Gowing. 230 pp. \$35.  
Thames and Hudson, 500 Fifth Avenue, New York.  
N.Y. 10110.

Reviewed by John Russell

If I were to say that "Lucian Freud" by Lawrence Gowing is one of the best books ever written by one painter about another, it might sound like hyperbole. But it isn't. For one thing, the field is narrow and the competition small. Every artist thinks that he can come up with the last word on every other artist, but the last word in question is usually brief. One sentence, and all is said. Books by artists about other artists are few, therefore.

Even so, "best" is a big word. And then there is the question of international standing. A book may be very good and yet exert primarily a local fascination. Of the two people in question, Gowing the painter is hardly known at all in the United States, though Gowing the writer on Vermeer, Cezanne and many a later artist is ranked very high. As for Lucian Freud, the two early paintings by him in the Museum of Modern Art in New York are not often on show, and many Americans have trouble with his later work. They would doubtless be astonished to know that not so long ago Freud's life work was shown back to back with the work of Edward Munch in a major public gallery. Nor did most visitors feel any loss of intensity as they passed from one to the other. Still, Gowing on Freud might seem to be of more interest in London, where both of them live, than in New York.

But this book is not only about painting. Nor is it only about Lucian Freud. It is about the interaction of two exceptionally gifted people over a period of more than 40 years. It is in fact the most substantial of the studies of fellow artists and near-contemporaries with which Lawrence Gowing has lately concerned himself. These studies are not primarily "art criticism," as it is usually understood. They are many things in one—covert autobiography, an oblique social history of England in decline, and a series of philosophical reflections on what it means to think with the brush, rather than at the typewriter.

Gowing, Slade Professor at the University of London and head of the Slade School of Art, which has produced as many distinguished artists as any school in the country, is in every sense a professional. But in his response to other people's art he has kept a pristine spontaneity. He has also managed in this case to get that spontaneity of perception onto the printed page without either homogenization or exaggeration. Remembering Freud as a very young man, he tells us how "his view of a subject was marked from the first by a serpentine likeness in the ready, rapid way in which an object was confronted."

Looking at the recent work, he sometimes has to bend the arm of language to say exactly what he wants to say. But the bending is never gratuitous, and the reader who stays with him will be well rewarded. Some of the 177 images in this book are among the most famous in recent English painting. Working with oil paints on copper, Freud in 1952 made the little portrait of his friend and colleague Francis Bacon that may remind us of Memling and Van Eyck for its power of scrutiny. He could have stayed forever with exactitude, but he has always been very good at

thinking up ways of stopping himself from painting the kind of pictures that people want him to keep on doing. (In that connection there is a wonderful passage in the book on Freud's recent preoccupation with "Kremnitz White, a pigment with twice as much lead even as Flake White.")

"As far as I am concerned," Freud said to Gowing, "the point is the person. I want to work for me just as flesh does." And both men and women alike are indeed almost oppressively present to us in these images. The painting of 1976/77 called "The Big Man" has an awesome weight and power, as if the man portrayed could pick us up between his two huge thumbs and squish us as he would squash a roach.

Gowing pushes language to the very edge when speaking of the difficult things in Freud's art—the effort, for instance, to push ever harder on the resources of painting. Of the 1976 portrait of the painter Frank Auerbach, he says that Freud "put more of the human forehead into the picture than you could gather in the whole previous history of painting."

And before we can reach for the word "hyperbole," this is how he goes on: "There is nothing particularly artistic or stylish about this. Yet the moist way the bulges glisten in the light, so that the greasy luster, which is inseparable from real skin, tells so truly the actual shape and the personal urgency behind it—this grips our attention as only the finest does to any art. And where the skin does not shine, where its own opalescent brown, pink warmth rounds the shape down into the creases formed by habit, endurance and love, there we are reminded over and over again that none of the reasons for art compare in their hold on us with the straightforward human reasons."

As always when one artist is talking about another, there are times when differences of temperament and experience are so great as to bring investigation to a halt. In painting the naked female body, for instance, Freud carries the experience so far that we sometimes wonder if we have any right to be there. I do not think that Gowing quite plumbs the extremes of feeling that these paintings represent, any more than he levels with all the complicated and contradictory emotions that he has harbored over the years towards Freud himself. But then, anyone who could plumb and level in those particular ways might not have been able to write as well as Gowing does—to take one instance only—about the portraits of his mother that Freud made toward the end of her life.

Of a painting in which Mrs. Freud is seen lying on her back, Gowing says "It seems that an idol has reverently been laid flat for packing as a treasured masterpiece. The picture records the moment at which devotion dissolves into the extraordinary feeling, combining identification with detachment, which we recognize as the emotion of art. The reference is physical and material through and through. The color has the density and texture of actual stuff. The paint itself is tuffed like the bodyspread, satiny like the cushion, and in the flesh it is impulsive yet constant, just as a person is. To make painting like people in ways that it was never like them before may not be the most severe of imaginative triumphs, but it is in a mysterious way incontrovertible. Lucie Freud's face shows the caliber of the support that Lucian could count on from the woman whose name he bears."

That is not the only way to write about painting. It may even be a way that no one but Lawrence Gowing could bring off. But in his hands and in this particular case it is something to cherish.

John Russell is on the staff of The New York Times.

## Solution to Previous Puzzle

CSA	MAH	POLRA
BOAR	CSHA	LOIAL
ARME	NOEL	SETTIO
ROBERT	PROST	LZE
STAKEA	STOAT	
ANOA	ILLSEE	
HAILEA	ESAR	ONLY
LENOY	EOL	MOOSE
LITTE	WINO	OFWAR
ATVIA	WINO	OFWAR
BEASE	REALIA	
POR	PHILEAS	FOGG
TRAPP	CULP	TILE
AGILE	WASH	EROS
SYNOID	TUES	RIO

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

ON the diagrammed deal, North-South used their sophisticated Precision methods to reach a good slam. After the strong artificial opening and the negative response, the bidding followed a natural track. The jump to four diamonds showed a good second suit with slam interest, and both players then made cue bids en route to six diamonds.

Since dummy was due to produce a long, strong spade suit, West knew that an attacking lead in one of the rounded suits was called for. He had to hope that he could hit a queen in his partner's hand, and that his partner would have an entry to cash a winner in the suit led originally.

East had both the queens in question, but only a heart lead would beat the contract and West found it. There were two slim reasons for preferring hearts to clubs: The greater length in clubs made it slightly more likely that the declaring side could ruff the second round of the suit, as proved to be the case; and a club lead was slightly more likely to give South a trick.

NORTH			
♠AKJ862			
♥AK42			
♦AK42			
♣9			
WEST			
♠9852			
♥J82			
♦KJ863			
EAST			
♠Q74			
♥QJ474			
♦75			
♣Q1076			
SOUTH (D)			
♠1055			
♥J82			
♦QJ866			
♣A42			
East and West were vulnerable. The bidding:			
South	West	North	East
10	Pass	10	Pass
2♠	Pass	4♦	Pass
5♦	Pass	5♦	Pass
6♦	Pass	Pass	Pass
West led the heart two.			

"I HATE TO ASK, BUT WHY DO YOU WANT \$943.86?"



## SPORTS

## U.S. National Coach Knight Drawing Fire — Again

By Bart Barnes  
Washington Post Staff Writer

WASHINGTON — The mention of Indiana University Coach Bobby Knight's name usually evokes emotion and opinion. But reaction to his being named coach of the 1984 U.S. Olympic basketball team has surpassed the normal borders of response.

Hispanic organizations, on Capitol Hill and elsewhere, are organizing a campaign to force the removal of Knight as coach of the U.S. team, contending that he is a racist who insulted Hispanics while coaching the U.S. team in the Pan-American Games in the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1979 and in remarks made last fall in Gary, Indiana.

"He has no place in a delegation from the United States to the Olympic Games," said the 11-member Congressional Hispanic Caucus in a letter to William Simon, chairman of the U.S. Olympic Committee. "Mr. Knight certainly cannot in good faith say he represents the more than 15 million Americans of Hispanic heritage in this country upon whose dignity he has recklessly trampled time and again."

Said Raul Yzaguirre, president of the National Council of La Raza, in a letter to Knight: "The fact that a man of your insensitivity has been nominated to be coach of the U.S. basketball team for the 1984 Olympic Games is reprehensible. . . . Your ability to serve as a symbol of fair play and honesty for the youth of America is, to be blunt, abysmally lacking."

Yzaguirre predicted anti-Knight demonstrations in Los Angeles before the Games if the appointment is allowed to stand, and Representative Robert Garcia, the New York Democrat who is chairman of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, said it's likely there will be demonstrations on Capitol Hill against the USOC.

At the heart of the protests are Pan-American Games incidents after which Knight was reprimanded

for transporting a woman to a hotel room, and for assaulting a San Juan police officer following an altercation at a practice site and was described in court testimony as having referred to members of a Brazilian women's team as "dirty people."

He was quoted last fall at a dinner-dance in Gary as saying that, as his plane left Puerto Rico after the 1979 games, "I stood up, unzipped my pants, lowered my shorts and turned. . . to the window of that plane — because that's the last thing I wanted those people to see of me."

Knight, who in 11 years at Indiana has won the national championship twice and made it to post-season NCAA play seven times, would not discuss the issue other than to say that criticism of his appointment "does not bother me one bit." He said he was pleased and honored to be named U.S. Olympic basketball coach.

While admitting that Knight's behavior could occasionally be improved, Simon insists he will remain as the Olympic coach. "We've heard from all these people, and I just don't think all the criticism justifies dismissing Bobby," he said by telephone from his office in New York. "I am not apologizing for Bobby's poor judgement. We accept his frailties."

Simon said the USOC approved Knight's appointment only after a full discussion of the incidents in Puerto Rico. According to Simon, the altercation with the policeman was provoked by the policeman, who testified later during Knight's trial that Knight had told him, "Get your dirty hands off me, nigger."

That is not to say Bobby is not a volatile character, said Simon. "He certainly is. But he is going to be our coach at the Olympics in Los Angeles, and that's it."

In a letter to Yzaguirre, Simon said, "The USOC

does not condone what Bobby Knight has done. But it also must be remembered, and we underscore emphatically, that Bobby Knight did not provoke the incidents in Puerto Rico."

At Knight's in-absentia trial several weeks after leaving San Juan, the coach was convicted of assaulting the policeman, fined \$500 and sentenced to six months in jail. The governor of Indiana refused to extradite him.

George Ravelling, a black who is the basketball coach at Washington State and who will be one of Knight's assistants for the 1984 Olympics, agreed that Knight was not at fault in the Puerto Rico incidents. "I knew all the players on the Pan-American team. I talked to a number of them when Coach Knight was not around and they all felt he got a very bad rap. . . ."

But Yzaguirre says he doesn't accept such explanations. "What we're going to do is continue our effort," said Yzaguirre, who is seeking support for the anti-Knight movement from local chapters of La Raza, which he describes as a Hispanic equivalent of the Urban League.

"I would expect that people would make their feelings known at the '84 Olympics. Los Angeles has a lot of Puerto Ricans. I would be surprised if they did not conduct peaceful, legal demonstrations. I don't think the world needs to see that. The foreign media will be there. They will pick up a racism that is not what the Games are about."

Said Garcia, "There is no question that Bob Knight is a genius in coaching. But when you talk about the Olympics, we want to present our best as a nation, not our worst. There is no question that his personality leaves a great deal to be desired in the human rela-

tions end. He truly insulted the people of Puerto Rico."

If the appointment stands, said Garcia, "we have no choice but to take our case to the floor of Congress." Most Olympic funds, he said, come from corporate or private sources, but occasionally the Olympic committees are before Congress with requests for legislation.

"As these measures come before us, we will take every opportunity to remind our colleagues that there is this coach who is not fit to coach," said Garcia.

Knight was first nominated for U.S. Olympic coach last summer by a subcommittee of college basketball coaches who endorsed his nomination unanimously. At that time, Puerto Rican Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo wrote to Olympic officials to protest. The issue remained dormant until Knight's remarks in October as guest speaker at a dinner-dance for employees of the Methodist Hospital in Gary.

The master of ceremonies, in jest, presented Knight with a one-way ticket to Puerto Rico, and Knight described his exit from the island. In the audience at the time was Carmelo Melendez, a Puerto Rican who lives in northern Indiana, is a member of the board of Methodist Hospital and is married to a graduate of Indiana University.

Melendez, whose account was verified by the hospital's public relations office, described the incident for the Hispanic Link News Service, whose material is distributed in English and Spanish to about 75 newspapers and magazines in the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

Since then, the governor of Puerto Rico has renewed his protest. The Hispanic Caucus and La Raza have become active, bills have been introduced in the Puerto Rican Senate and House calling for Knight's dismissal, and the National Puerto Rican Coalition and the Congressional Territorial Caucus have demanded Knight's removal.



Bobby Knight: 'We accept his frailties.'



**SLAUGHTERHOUSE FOUR** — Returning to the Philadelphia meat-processing plant where he worked before winning the gold medal at the 1964 Olympics, former professional heavyweight champion Joe Frazier introduced the latest family member to start a boxing career. Holding the side of beef being tenderized by his father, Hector Frazier, 20, is a junior-welterweight whose pro debut will be on Feb. 24. His brother Marvin, center, has a 7-0 record; cousin and fellow-heavyweight Rodney Frazier, left, won a decision in his first professional outing. Said the man who is training all three fighters: "I did it all here — killed animals, took 'em apart, put 'em in a box, dumped waste in cans to be ground for fertilizer and scrubbed floors."

## The Press and the Pros: Enduring Adversaries

By Bill Shirley  
Los Angeles Times Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES — The conflicts between sportswriters and athletes often are as intense as rivalries on the field. Ego-bruised athletes, managers and coaches often think writers don't know what they're talking about. Why the adversary relationship?

The majority of several athletes, coaches and managers interviewed recently said they have a responsibility to talk to reporters. But virtually every one said he had, at one time or another, been misquoted, quoted out of context or quoted by a reporter who got the information from another writer. Some also said that some writers are too negative, taking cheap shots and giving the media a bad reputation.

The athletes' views ranged from that of former Los Angeles Rams football player Deacon Jones ("I did not have one beef — I had no bad stories") to that of former Los Angeles Dodger Reggie Smith ("If you reporters don't have a story, you create one").

Some agreed with the premise

that most players do not understand a writer's job. Brooks Robinson, the former Baltimore third baseman, said there should be more communication between writers and athletes. "Perhaps we should have seminars," he said. "Athletes are coming into the major leagues at an earlier age; they don't understand your job."

Sonny Jurgensen, the former Washington quarterback, said there was a time when, "after some games, I just wanted to go home." But Jurgensen has become a television and radio commentator; now, he said, "I'd be more tolerant of the media. Now I know about deadlines."

Andy Russell, former Pittsburgh linebacker, remembers a time the Steelers lost 13 games in a row. "I could sympathize with the reporters' problems writing about a loser," he said. But even when they were losing, he said, the Steelers had a good rapport with the media. "We'd ask them to debate us. We discussed problems." But today's losses seldom involve objective reporting to the locker room.

"The Rams' Jack Youngblood is understanding. 'Personally,' he said, "I'd like to see reporters as our cheerleaders. But I know a good reporter has to be objective. . . . Your boss is looking for big plays, too."

Baseball's Rick Monday has seen stories he didn't like, but, he said, "By and large, reporters are fair and honest. I see house men around the country, but I also see people who are always waiting for the other shoe to drop."

Adds Walter Payton of the Chicago Bears: "People have a right to know what's going on."

The sorest subject: quotes. Athletes object to reporters swapping quotes, a common practice, and they don't understand that writers routinely use information from wire-service stories, which come from various sources. But what really upsets athletes are anonymous quotes.

"If someone doesn't put his name or reputation behind a quote," said Steve Garvey of the San Diego Padres, "it has no valid-

ity. It is cruel and unjustified in being subjected to what is, the majority of the time, a false statement made with premeditation."

The anonymous quote allows an unnamed person to criticize others by name. Sportswriters maintain that athletes, coaches and managers are just as reluctant as government officials to make harsh or revealing on-the-record statements and that many will not speak frankly unless they are not identified.

"You have a tremendous responsibility to get facts," Smith said. If a reporter gets a quote from someone else, Smith contends, he should say he got it from a third party. "That takes him off the hook — then I won't be angry with the reporter if the quote is wrong."

Athletes' concern with accuracy is understandable. Gifford Nielsen, the Houston Oilers quarterback, said that press reports "will make or break you. . . . Fans remember the negative as well as the positive things. Some writers know they influence a lot of people, and I have a hard time accepting that something a reporter writes can be detrimental to a player's career."

Houston Astro catcher Alan Ashby is concerned that an athlete's reputation follows him out of sports, and he thinks too many reporters are negative, since "most athletes are trying to do their best all the time."

Misquotes or misinterpretations often occur, Smith believes, because when several reporters are listening to a conversation, one might not hear a statement; he asks someone else what was said — and then gets it wrong. Cincinnati's Johnny Bench agrees: "If there's a problem, it's because there are so many reporters. Sometimes a reporter picks up in the middle of a conversation and doesn't get the whole story, and this makes some athletes afraid to talk. . . . Boy, do you hear about it in the next town."

Former Ram Tom Mack recalled being misquoted in a story on a football strike eight years ago and then seeing the quote revived during last fall's strike. Researching a

story, reporters often pick up errors from clips in newspaper libraries; papers may print a correction, but seldom as prominently as the original story.

Teammates kid Montreal catcher Gary Carter, a fine ballplayer and a friendly, gregarious man, about all the publicity he gets, accusing him of seeking it. "But how am I going to stop it?" he asked. Garvey has heard the same thing. "If the truth is printed, I am quoted accurately," said Garvey. "I'd help reporters as much as I can. I have a responsibility — I am a professional athlete. I am an entertainer. My personality is visible. The press has helped the public to get to know Steve Garvey."

Charlie Waters, the former Dallas defensive back, contends that "some reporters pass judgment when they don't really know what they're talking about. Nobody in the media has any idea of what's going on, believe me. They're out there more than fans reporting the game."

But Waters, an articulate spokesman for his game, said he enjoyed talking football with reporters and never ran from a question, snapped at a reporter or laughed at a question. He wouldn't have been able to make as much money as he did, he said, "if you guys didn't do a good job in getting people interested in what I'm doing."

Kellen Winslow, San Diego tight

end: "The reporters I don't like in talk to are the ones who write nothing but opinions. If people want opinions, they'll turn to the editorial page. I like reporters who deal in facts. Most reporters would be lost in five minutes if they attended one of our meetings. They don't know enough about football to write about it."

Jockeys have a problem most athletes don't run into. "Sometimes sportswriters are gamblers," says rider Eddie Delahoussaye. "And they're just like any other loser — and that's a bad loser. They'll write bad about you."

Said another jockey, Chris McCarron, "Any time the press is involved, you're going to find somebody who is trying to beef up their stories to sell their material. It bugs me to see myself quoted when I haven't said anything to a guy."

Indiana basketball coach Bobby Knight is one of the press's loudest critics. Asked what he likes best about coaching, he once replied: "Dealing with the press. After the demands of a game, my mind needs a rest."

All sportswriters wish all athletes would take Les Trevino's advice and talk to them. "When I hear about athletes not talking to the press, I think what fools they are," he said.

"Before long, their moneymaking days as an athlete will be gone. Then what?"

## SPORTS BRIEFS

## Arguello Surrenders WBC Crown

MEXICO CITY (AP) — Alexis Arguello has renounced his World Boxing Council lightweight title because he says he can no longer make the classification's 135-pound weight limit. A council spokesman reported Tuesday that Arguello said he had "tried to meet the weight limit in my preparation for the fight against Vilomar Fernandez, but my body is too weak to continue and reach 135 pounds."

The Nicaraguan boxer gained the lightweight title in June 1981. He has won and renounced two other titles — the World Boxing Association featherweight and WBC super-featherweight. In a bid for a fourth title last November, he lost to junior-welterweight champion Aaron Pryor. Arguello's career record is 69-4 with 59 knockouts.

## Cooper Receives Clemente Award

NEW YORK (AP) — Cecil Cooper of the Milwaukee Brewers Tuesday was named the recipient of the Roberto Clemente Award, given annually by major league baseball to the player "who best exemplifies the game on and off the field."

Selected by a panel of writers and sportscasters and baseball executives, Cooper has organized and conducted Athletics for Youth motivational sessions involving teammates, visiting players and members of various youth groups, is a member of the board of Athletics for Youth and the Milwaukee Area Community Chest and was the 1982 honorary chairman of Food For Families.

The award is named for the Hall of Fame outfielder of the Pittsburgh Pirates who died in a plane crash Dec. 31, 1972, while on a mission to aid victims of an earthquake in Managua. The award's criteria include sportsmanship, character, community involvement, humanitarianism, playing ability and contribution to the sport.



Cecil Cooper

## Olympics' Amateurism Gets Its Roots Clipped

The Associated Press

LOS ANGELES — The notion that the Olympic Games have always been strictly for amateur athletes is a myth born in an elitist English society that wanted to bar working class competitors, a researcher says.

The Greeks, who held the first Games, paid their athletes various sums and gifts, although the Games themselves offered only the olive wreath as a prize, according to David Young, professor of classics at the University of California at Santa Barbara.

Young, who has spent 10 years researching amateurism in the Olympics, translated ancient stories and documents in Greece, including lists of winners and their purses.

"People have the notion that amateurism existed in the ancient Games and that professionalism came along as a corruption," said Young, whose book, "The Myth of Greek Amateurism," is to be published this summer by Aris Publishers of Chicago.

"The upshot of what I'm going to say is that there was never a concept of amateur athletics in the original Games. . . . which flies in the face of the whole tradition."

Among Young's findings were that in Plato's time, the winner of the 200-meter sprint at an Athens meet would get 100 amphoras of olive oil (worth \$67,800 in today's

dollars) — which he could export tax-free.

The city of Athens paid its champions in the Olympics the equivalent of \$338,800, or the amount a skilled craftsman might earn in 14 years.

Young said he has evidence to show that Greek medical schools recruited athletes in much the manner of schools today, and that athletic purses included cash, leather coats and art objects in silver, gold or bronze.

Young said it is thus a mistake to believe that today's strict rules against Olympic athletes profiting financially from their sports are rooted in ancient times.

"Amateurism is a modern concept originating in 19th-century England to justify an elitist athletic system that sought to bar working classes from competition," he said. "Baron Pierre de Coubertin was a dyed-in-the-wool anglophile who loved the British school system, rugby in particular, and decided that their way, where the intention of sports was to have the gifted youth gather, was the right way."

Coubertin was a French educator who pioneered the 1896 restart of the Games.

Young noted that the 1866 by-law of the Amateur Athletic Club in England said that organization existed "to afford gentlemen amateurs the means of practicing and competing versus one another without being compelled to mix with professional runners."

## Transition

## Baseball

BOSTON — Acquired Mike Davis, third baseman, to complete the trade that sent Mike Torrez, pitcher, to the N.Y. Mets. Signed Glenn Hoffman, Julio Valdez, Jackie Gutierrez, shortstop; Steve Crawford, John Tudor, Brian Doonan, Brian Knorr, pitchers; and Gus Brubaker, outfielder.

CLEVELAND — Traded Sandy Wilhoit, pitcher, to the Chicago Cubs for cash. Signed Al Gubler, manager, of Buffalo of the Eastern League.

TORONTO — Signed Randy Moffitt, pitcher, and acquired him to Syracuse of the International League.

ATLANTA — Signed Steve Sedro, Tammy Bates, and Rick Miller, pitchers; Mike Sklar, catcher; Terry Harner, outfielder; and Ken Smith, first baseman/outfielder, to one-year contracts.

CHICAGO — Signed Lee Smith, pitcher, to a one-year contract.

MONTREAL — Signed Jeff Reardon, pitcher.

NEW YORK — Signed Rick Green, Walt Terrell and Scott Ovech, to one-year contracts.

## Basketball

National Basketball Association

GOLDEN STATE WARRIORS — Traded Rickey Brown, forward/center, to Atlanta for cash and a second-round draft choice in 1984.

KANSAS CITY — Activated Ken Danvers, forward, and Steve Johnson, forward, to Philadelphia.

SAN DIEGO — Signed Bobby Gross, forward, to a 10-day contract. Signed Larry Moore, guard, for the remainder of the season.

## Football

National Football League

ATLANTA — Named Steve Crosby, Bob Frit, Dan Sekemich assistant coaches.

BUFFALO — Named Bob Zamon defensive coordinator.

DALLAS — Named Jim Shofner assistant coach.

MIAAMI — Named Bob Matheson assistant coach in charge of special teams.

QUARTERBACK — Activated Kevin McLean, running back.

BOSTON — Signed Dick Jauron, defensive back.

DENVER — Signed Chris Hulse, running back, and Al Hill, wide receiver; placed Tony Blanton, safety, on injured reserve; released Rod Wolden, defensive end.

LOS ANGELES — Released Chuck Foreman, running back; Tim Lutz and Ron Hawkins, tight ends; and Steve Johnson and Herman Frazier, offensive guards.

FLORIDA — Promoted Mike Shanahan to assistant head football coach; named Zvon Yorlison and Don Coughlin to the coaching staff.

MINNAPOLIS — Activated Steve Hest, offensive coordinator.

RIVER-STOCKTON — Announced the resignation of Gary Clark, head basketball coach, effective at the end of the academic year.

PURDUE — Promoted Dale Samuels to associate athletic director.

## McCrory, Jones to Meet for Title

NEW YORK (AP) — Milton McCrory, ranked No. 1 worldwide, will fight third-ranked Colin Jones, the British Commonwealth and European champion, for the World Boxing Council welterweight championship March 19 in Reno, Nevada, promoter Don King has announced. McCrory is undefeated in 20 professional fights with 19 knockouts. Jones is 24-1 with 21 knockouts.

The bout will be for one of the titles vacated by the retirement of Sugar Ray Leonard. Leonard also held the World Boxing Association championship; that title was won Sunday by Donald Curry in a unanimous decision over South Korean Jun Sok Hwang.

## NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE				
Atlantic Division				
	W	L	Pct. GB	
Philadelphia	48	27	.639	
Boston	38	37	.500	10
New Jersey	33	42	.438	15
Washington	24	51	.319	24
New York	22	54	.297	26
Central Division				
Milwaukee	38	27	.583	
Atlanta	28	37	.438	10
Cleveland	24	42	.364	16
Chicago	15	51	.227	25
Indiana	14	52	.211	26
WESTERN CONFERENCE				
Midwest Division				
San Antonio	22	21	.512	
Dallas	22	21	.512	
Kansas City	22	20	.500	
Denver	22	21	.512	
Pacific Division				
Los Angeles	38	27	.583	
Portland	30	37	.447	8
Phoenix	30	37	.447	8
San Diego	22	45	.330	16
Seattle	22	45	.330	16
Utah	18	41	.297	20
Golden State	18	41	.297	20
San Jose	18	41	.297	20
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## Butts and Blizzards

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## Japan's 'Last-Note Writer'

## INTER

Today Inoue's creative energies focus on two historical novels: "The Ocean," the saga of the generations of Japanese in Amer-



Nnobody would tell the truth in a final letter before death. The very wisest man would have somebody else write it. I see myself as the last-note writer."

## An Award for Rooney

Paul McCartney has lost a 14-year legal battle over an estimated \$5 million (about \$7.5 million) in royalties from some of the Beatles' biggest-selling songs. The High Court in London ruled against a claim by McCartney that the Beatles' former publishing company, Northern Songs, owed the group royalties dating to 1965 from hits such as "Yesterday," "Hey Jude," "Let It Be" and "Eleanor Rigby." The Beatles sold Northern Songs in 1969 to the show business tycoon

\$12 tennis shoes. Frank Wells, 34, was sentenced to 12 months in jail by Judge J. Eugene Slaton after the jury returned the verdict on the misdemeanor charge. On June 12, 1972, Wells was working as a security guard at Washington's Watergate hotel and office complex when he discovered a taped door latch leading to the Democratic National Committee offices in the complex. An investigation eventually led to the president's resignation and jail terms for several of Nixon's top aides.

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